

THE WEST

A STUDY

Dr. K. KUNHI KANNAN

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By

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1928

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To
MY FATHER

PREFACE

In the following pages, I have attempted to present to my readers, what I consider to be the regulating principles of Western civilization. I believe, a correct understanding of these, will enable such of my countrymen, as desire to imitate the West, to exercise greater judgment and discrimination. The analysis is based on what I have read and seen of the West.

The book was begun and completed as early as 1924. Although publication has been delayed till now, but few alterations have been made.

I deeply appreciate the benefit of detailed criticism made by a distinguished scholar, whose name I am, however, not allowed to give to my readers. In the final preparation of the manuscript for the press, I have received considerable assistance from Mr. Charles Noronha, M.A. of the Mysore Civil Service and from Mr. K. Sampathgiri Rao, M.A. of the National High School, Bangalore City. .

December 1927.

K. KUNHI KANNAN.

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THE WEST

I

INTRODUCTORY

THE interpretation of the West that I am attempting in the following pages will, I believe, gain in whatever interest and value it may have if, as a preliminary, I acquaint the reader with the character of the views I had formed previous to my visit, and their genesis. The attitude of mind of the traveller determines in a great measure what he sees, and what he does not see, in a foreign land, and what analysis he makes of his impressions. Political preconceptions or racial prejudices may change for him, and for his readers as well if he records his impressions, the whole aspect of things. I consider, therefore, that the precise frame of mind, in which

the travel was commenced, should be made known to the reader so that he may understand better the genesis of the impressions recorded for his benefit. In my own case, attempting, as I am, an analysis of the West as a whole, not the record of transitory impressions, an introduction of that character appears to me to be specially necessary.

A visit to the West was one of the dreams of my life. Since it emerged in my mind early in the High School classes, the fascination continued through the years, always a fugitive, never even made known to my dearest friends, from the certainty of being laughed at, but nursed and cherished all the more in the secret recesses of my heart. It was late in College life, when in asking me to accept an appointment which he offered to secure for me, my dear Professor, to whom I owe much in this life, mentioned a foreign training among the prospects it had, that the desire shot up with all the force of prolonged suppression, and gained admission into the narrow circle of my reasonable aspirations and ambitions. I had to decline the appointment, however, as the pay was too small for the necessities of my family, but fortunately the one which was soon after obtained for me by

the same professor, had a similar prospect among its attractions. The hope had to be deferred long however. One thing or other was in the way, until weary with waiting, almost to the point of despair, I had all but given up the hope of 20 years, when by one of those strange ironies of fate what had been denied when a request was made was offered unasked.

It was a fulfilment in no stinted measure. My hope had been no more than a stay of a year or two at an English University, and I had relied on the vacations for visits to different parts of the British Isles and the Continent. What was actually offered, however, was a deputation abroad, in the course of which I was to tour round the world visiting Egypt, several countries on the Continent, England, the southern States of America, Hawaii and Japan. The training at the University was at first only for three months, afterwards kindly extended, at my request, to nine. The rest of the period of 21 months was to be employed in visits to various scientific laboratories in different countries.

Now that the offer finally came, even the period of waiting so unendurable at the time appeared to have a better side. The large

number of years I had already spent in the particular line of my work enabled me to determine more correctly the nature of the training required, which prevented the diffusion of effort over vast ranges of subjects, not of any practical use to me in India, and to discuss problems in greater detail and exchange views with distinguished members of my profession, not so much as a student seeking information but as a colleague and co-worker.

In the wider field of a study of the West, the lapse of years had wrought a change. The fascination of earlier years was born of no intelligent appreciation and was more analogous to the desire of a boy to visit a theatre or a circus. The West had dominated my thoughts because it dominated my environment. It dominated the curriculum. The textbooks in English of those days dealt almost exclusively with stories and scenes of English life. English History was of the English, and the so-called Indian History was also English History, English in most of the events dealt with, English in authorship, and therefore English in sentiment. In Geography, the country about which both the teacher and the taught took the least pains was my own

country, for in the examination paper it was usually dismissed with half a question. I heard of St. Paul's and St. Peter's before I heard of the Taj and Ajanta. I read the story of Washington and the cherry tree before I had of Harischandra and Chandramati. The reading room was stocked with English magazines and illustrated papers, and among newspapers the Anglo-Indian ones commanded the greater respect not only for language but for the opinions expressed. In the Library almost all the books were of European authors on subjects for the most part European.

Outside the College the spaciousness and luxury of the life the European lived, and his authority which none dare question, impressed me. His voice was the voice of command. The people made way before him and talked in whispers in his presence. He had appointments in his gift. His habits and idiosyncracies were the most frequent topics of conversation among the educated. His very servants exercised authority and influence. What wonder, then, that the land from which he came fired my youthful imagination as a wonderland of surpassing splendour and beauty!

But the years wrought a change. It began with the triumphs of Swami Vivekananda. His vindication of Hinduism enabled me to retaliate against the European missionary who, foolishly as I now think, tried to exalt his religion by crying down mine. I had read a great deal of Vivekananda's writings though I understood little. But what I understood was enough for the discomfiture of the Missionary who tried to discredit this famous Hindu Sanyasin by calling him a beef-eater. It was a triumph which I owed to no abilities of mine. It was a triumph, nevertheless, to get the better in arguments relating to my religion which always used to end in my humiliation. It was of greater value in its reactions on what had been hitherto accepted without question. The stories that I had heard from time to time of unseemly or brutal behaviour on the part of the European had no significance for me. The sense of power he exercised and the authority he wielded had over-powered my criticism. But it was an easy step from questioning the arguments of the Missionary to questioning the propriety of his methods, from judging his conduct to judging the conduct of the planter, the merchant, or the officer belonging to his

race. The accounts I read in the papers of outrages committed by Europeans against Indians and the difficulty of securing justice provoked serious thought. I had not read either Mill or Burke then. But these outrages were far more eloquent than Burke and more logical than Mill.

The European was no longer in my eyes on the high pedestal he had remained. He was brought down to the level of common humanity. Worship ceased. There was fear still, but of respect I had far less. He appeared to be impartial from indifference. He was just where he was not a partisan. But he appeared to have sympathy for the poor and the oppressed. He was still welcome to the large class of people, low down in the social scale, who received his support in their efforts at release from the worst forms of social tyranny. The low castes gained in status and influence from the advancement of its members to positions of authority and influence under the Government. It was impossible to beat back the conviction, brought home to me by these and by the history of India as it was taught to me, that the European, if an evil, was a very necessary evil. Of Western civilization itself, my admiration was not so

qualified by the questionable conduct of the European in India who represented, as I was told, but indifferent samples of the real article, spoiled further by tropical heat and by political dominance.

These convictions, vague and indefinite, were soon to crystallise under the stress of political developments. The demand for Home Rule, pressed on the Government with such great wealth of argument, provoked thought in one who had looked upon British rule as a necessity, if not quite a blessing.

Opposed as I was to a withdrawal of Britain from the government of this country, I could not deny the sincerity of purpose of the leaders of the movement, and felt that developments which brought people to that stage of political thought, when the demand was not so much for good government as self-government, needed examination. In respect of political movements the part of the country where I was stationed was a back-water. It had no politics. Few were interested in political questions. Every circumstance of official work and environment tended rather to draw me away from politics. In spite of these discouraging influences I determined to make a study. I read all the literature on Home

Rule on which I could lay hands. It presented aspects of British Rule which had not been revealed to me in the course of my education. It interested me and stimulated further study. I studied Indian and English History all over again. I plodded through books on political economy, art, philosophy and religion, relating to the West and the East, and numerous books on India written by travellers. I read a great deal more between the lines. It gave me greater insight into the problem than the pamphlets of the Home Rule party; I had my own interpretation of the unrest.

In the views that I developed as a result of my studies, my conceptions of the West and its civilization underwent a serious alteration. The East in me, which had hitherto lain vanquished in the dust, now rose again for a fresh contest with more courage. The issues were uncertain still; but my sympathies were with the East as never before; the more so because I became aware that I had not been just to her. The East had not appealed to me. Now that a change had come over me, her gentle eyes were eloquent in their mute appeal. There were no reproaches, there was no resentment, and the appeal went straight to the heart. But I was still in the grip of the West. My

heart was, however, no longer with it. I tried to obtain my release.

It would have taken me long to break away, but the War came and with it ceased the habit of thought which placed the West above everything in spite of myself. The foremost among the nations which had prided themselves in their civilization and their achievements were now ranged against one another. Solemn treaties and compacts had been cast to the winds. No inhumanity seemed beyond them. They were possessed with the same mad impulse, in spite of professions to the contrary, to dominate the world. It could not all be well with a civilization which allowed itself to be led into a catastrophe so colossal. I had read and thought too far, however, to allow the revulsion of feeling to produce a wholesale repudiation. There was so much of evil, but a great deal that was undoubtedly good went with it. What were the elements in the civilization which made so much for both? The broad distinctions of 'material' and 'spiritual' life of the platform, did not go far enough. I felt there was too much talk without understanding of the spirit, and the distinction was not worked out in differences in everyday life, nor correctly ap-

praised with reference to the requirements of modern life. Is there a half way house between East and West, or will the twain never meet? For these and a hundred other questions I could find no satisfactory answer myself or from others. *

In the meanwhile, I could not help observing the rapid diffusion of Western civilization over the whole world. Europe, the New World and Australia are exclusively its field. Africa for the most part has been divided among the European Powers—the independent States signify little, owning no more than a twentieth of the whole continent. The rest of the vast area is definitely dominated by the West. In Asia, Japan has practically accepted Western civilization in industrial development, in the organisations for war and in the form of government. In China, nominally free but really bound, her ancient civilization has proved inadequate to resist the stress of the changed conditions of the present day, and there is a strong party who want to follow the lead of the West. In India, the diffusion of Western civilization is proceeding apace through channels of administration and education, and through the personal contact of Indians with a large number of resident

Europeans in political predominance. The East is thus being compelled or assisted to become Westernized.

The process of Westernization involves, usually, not only the diffusion of Western culture but the introduction of Western economic and social systems and forms of government in place of indigenous ones. Where the organisations are tribal, and manifestly inferior, their dissolution need cause no serious regret, even though it is followed too often by the debasement and demoralisation of the tribes and reconstruction is necessarily laborious and slow. But we cannot contemplate with the same equanimity the process of disintegration which is rapidly affecting ancient civilizations like the Chinese, the Semitic and the Indian, for each one of these has behind it a social theory and an economic doctrine with the help of which it has made in the past solid contributions to human progress. Their survival through centuries is sufficient to meet the charge of a latter-day decadence, the more so because Western civilization, which appears so superior to them now, is only a couple of centuries old, and has yet to prove that it will continue to maintain its present vigour

in the centuries to come. Even as it is, one is not at all sure, after the ghastly revelations of the recent War, that its foundations have been built secure to withstand the forces which it is raising within its own bosom and without.

It may be that civilizations are products of racial reactions to environments. The conditions of life on the earth's surface vary so much from region to region, and the needs of man change so much with them, that the institutions, laws and customs which answer in one may not answer in another. The mastery of science over nature has not reached the point of a successful elimination of the effects on man of latitude, or the influences of the barometer on his spirit. In spite of tunnels and canals, steam and electricity, the diversity of geographical conditions will continue to leave their impress on man and his life, much the same as they did when the existing civilizations were cradled, and it is impossible that the regulating principles embodied in them can be radically altered without creating serious dislocations that may lead to their final collapse.

Apart from the intrinsic worth of civilizations, their existence side by side each in the

region best adapted to it, is to be preferred to the universal acceptance of one civilization by the whole world. In no civilization has it been possible for man with his limited capacities to make a balanced development of all his faculties and feelings. A diversity of civilizations helps to discover and correct defective standards, for the beauty of an ideal neglected and submerged in one, but found in its perfection in another civilization, may stimulate efforts for its restoration. Even more than these healthy reactions of one on another, the recognition involved in the value and worth of civilizations, other than one's own, makes for culture by weakening prejudices and broadening narrow outlooks which are responsible in no small degree for the jars and discords of the world. While it is to the advantage of mankind that existing civilizations are preserved, none of them can long maintain its integrity if it refuses to adapt itself to the changing conditions of the world, or if it abandoned itself to their influence. Each should, therefore, explore the failures and the successes of other civilizations to find out correct lines of adjustments best suited to it, consistent with its own central principles and standards. No political necessity or

national pride should be allowed to vitiate such comparative estimates.

In the study I have attempted, I have tried to the best of my ability to keep these considerations in mind. I have tried to steer clear, on the one hand, of the blind admiration of early youth, and on the other, the unreasoning prejudice which was the reaction from it in later years. I have tried to lay aside the habit of thought, far too common now in India, which looks upon a successful imitation of the West as the only means of salvation for India. While I have proceeded on the assumption that in a civilization which has shot so far ahead in the course of a couple of centuries there should be substantial elements of greatness, I have at the same time clung to the belief that there have been circumstances in the growth and constitution of Indian civilization which have given it a wider outlook, a larger tolerance, than its nationalistic character has allowed for Western civilization, and that any approximation to the latter should not be at the sacrifice of these precious assets.

I have tried to take the fullest advantage of the opportunity my visit allowed to test and correct the value of my conclusions. I

took no camera with me, to utilise better the time which it usually takes. I visited twice the important places of historical interest and buildings which impressed me, the second time alone to be saved from the ceaseless talk of the guide. I discussed with strangers and friends, and I sampled newspapers of every description.

What I venture in the succeeding pages is the result of my study. I must confess that I have not studied sufficiently long. But I have tried to think deep and penetrate below superficial impressions, and have tried to steer clear of the extremes of earlier years. How far I have succeeded in giving a true account of the West the reader must judge for himself.

II

BUSY-NESS

TO a traveller accustomed to the leisurely ways of the East, the most striking feature of the West is the rush of life. Life there is a roaring cataract that crashes past, leaping over boulders and rocks, eating its way into banks, and marked along its course by many a whirlpool. He misses the gentle silent flow of Eastern life with its soft whispers amidst the lowly grass and shrubs which are tenderly embraced and released along its smooth even course. The extent of this striking difference has to be fully realised in every circumstance and event of Western life, as much in its obscure recesses as in the more conspicuous fields of activity, if one has properly to determine the limits of the vast circumference, and then to proceed to the centre and source whence proceed the enormous energies.

In the largest cities of the West, the visitor is almost overwhelmed with the impression he receives of ceaseless activity from every direction. Deposited at a station like the New York Central he is almost

bewildered by the distractions. There is the ceaseless cry of imprisoned steam from many monster engines whose monotony is varied by the clang of bells, the stream of many hundreds of passengers hurrying to and from the platform, the waiting and checking rooms full, and outside, innumerable cars coming and going. And, on the road, there are vehicles passing, of every description, motor lorries, cars and vans, by the hundred, and cycles and motor cycles threading their way through the intricate maze, and on the pavement, pedestrians walking at a run. At the hotel door, one has hardly alighted when one of the hotel boys takes charge of the luggage. He follows him to the counter of the hotel clerk where the room is assigned and he is taken to it by the boy who bows and retires.

The hotel lobbies present an animated scene. They are full of people engaged in conversation in small groups, or in reading the papers. Along the verandahs are stalls for newspapers and magazines and small articles of every day use and curios. There are notices of lectures, concerts and dramas in conspicuous places. There are telephone booths, shaving saloons and typists' rooms, and lecture halls, and sometimes theatres.

The dining rooms at meal times are full. There is usually music to accompany dinner.

What was seen on the way to the hotel impels the visitor to see more, and he ventures out to witness again the hurry and excitement of modern life. The continuous impression of speed is a new sensation. In the half-westernised cities of the East, crowds are big and vehicles are speedy, but the sense of hurry and haste is not sustained long but weakened by many a scene of leisurely life. There is a sweet-meat vendor perhaps, watching flies blacken his sticky wares at a street corner, or a shopkeeper half asleep over his hookah, or a bullock cart in the way of a fretful motor car. In Western cities, on the other hand, the speed-up of life is universal, and survivals from an old order of things do not project out to intercept and diminish the force of the current.

Restaurants, theatres and other show places are crowded. Trains and buses at certain hours of the day are equally crowded. In the parks people meet in thousands for recreation, all hilarious and bent on enjoyment. There is much talking and laughter. On the beach, if there happens to be one, people are as numerous, and, if it is intended

for bathing, there may be thousands in bathing jackets sporting in the waters. Restaurants in the neighbourhood which provide refreshments and music for those who feel tired after the exercise, are crowded.

More important than numbers is the velocity of things on the move. Vehicles of every description are run at very high speed often to the point of danger. In the States the loss of life from cars exceeding the speed limit reached about 5,000 in one year, and the Chicago policemen were once instructed to shoot at cars that refused to slow down to the speed limit. Numerous accidents occur as a result of neglecting the warning of signals of coming trains at level crossings. Some of these signals have elaborate mechanisms which work automatically. Well in advance of the train a large bell rings and keeps on ringing until the train has passed. The accidents occur because some are not prepared for the short wait of a few minutes. Trains run at high speed and announce their arrival at stations by the ringing of bells in addition to the whistle.

Even in conversation one does not fail to notice that time presses on most people in the West. Questions are direct and answers

precise and to the point. There is hardly time to exchange greetings between friends meeting on the pavement. In the States the familiar enquiry after health is sometimes reduced to the hideous dissyllable "How dea". Hats are lifted as friends pass each other, or they shake hands and exchange a few words. More leisurely conversations are carried on across the dinner table where the parties are inclined to be in the best of humour.

The sense of speed is heightened by the continuous din. Each of the innumerable vehicles and waggons makes its own distinct contribution. There is the scream of the trams, sometimes as many as three abreast in the same street. There is the tolling of bells from church steeples and towers. There are whistles from trains, steamers and river craft. There is the crash of the tube railway, ear-splitting but happily confined under-ground, and above all there is the thunderous rumble and rattle of the overhead railway.

Many of these causes of excitement continue far into the night. If a few disappear, others take their place. The most important among these is the glare, persistent and

blinding, from the many million lights of the city. Lights mellow and soft, are a pleasing sight and all lights are pleasing at a distance, but there is a steady stare about electric lights which offends by its persistence. There are many millions of these in Western cities, and far too many are used for advertisement. The porticoes of cinemas and theatres are decorated with hundreds of them. There are many on shop windows; and up above, there are various advertising devices with these which sustain the sensation of speed. Fans opening and closing, cannon firing, beer frothing out of the tumbler, birds flying, and a hundred other actions are imitated successfully with them and repeated at such short intervals that the jaded nerves, jaded from the noise and rush of the day, are stimulated further by fresh excitement.

Nowhere are the elements that induce the impression of high velocity in Western life so concentrated as in the factory. The first factory that I visited happened to be a meat-packing house, and the arrangements made there to speed up the various processes astonished me. The bodies of animals, one would imagine, would not easily lend themselves to easy manipulation by machinery,

but every difficulty had been apparently overcome. The helpless animals, massive and to all appearance well fed, were driven single file through a narrow gate where a man was stationed. As each animal passed the gate he swung a long-handled hammer and delivered a crushing blow on the forehead which stunned the animal and brought it to the floor. In almost a second it was swung up by the hind legs, and thereafter it moved by stages along a winding curve which finally led into a railway refrigerator waggon.

At each stage it halted for about five minutes. At the first halt a man passed a long knife into the heart which brought out the blood at a rush. At the next the head was severed from the carcass, and it took a different route for skinning, braining, removal of the tongue and other operations. The body moved along and it was opened up at one stage, the viscera was removed at the next and so on, one operation succeeded another until the body was split into two halves along the backbone and cleaned and stamped and slid into its place in the waggon. The entrails were cleaned and submitted to various processes in one direction, the blood was gathered into large vats, and scraps of

meat and offal were sent to the incinerator. In about an hour from the death of the animal meat was ready for transport.

In distribution of work of this character what struck me was that there was no opportunity for slackness. Each operation had been timed to finish in a fixed period. It could perhaps be done quicker but one may not exceed the time limit without automatically rendering idle the workmen after him. Nor can work assigned to one be passed on to the next man unfinished without detection and protest. There can be no doubt that the entire process from start to finish had been subjected to very careful scrutiny and the time for each operation fixed by trial.

Outside the factory also one may observe the success of attempts to prevent the waste of time. In some towns the trams have no conductors. The passengers get into the trams at the door near the conductor and drop the fare into a box in front of him, when it is automatically registered. The services of a separate conductor and inspector are therefore unnecessary. In one station in Boston the fare of ten cents for the suburban railways was dropped in similarly in front of an officer posted at the gate. No one dare pass

without dropping his fare escaping the vigilance of the collector, and there was a constant stream of silver into the box. The expenditure involved in printing the tickets and issuing, collecting and checking them was avoided. In the caffeterias in the States, customers serve themselves. They walk in and pick up a tray, knife, fork and spoon, rolled up in a paper towel, at one end of a long counter. As they pass along they select their dishes and place them in the tray. At the other end of the counter the manager checks the contents and receives payment. The customers eat at the tables provided in the restaurant and then leave. Servants are required only to clean the vessels and arrange them again on the counter. There are no waiters.

Work at high pressure may be observed elsewhere also. The telephone girl has to submit herself to a continuous strain for hours, which leaves her exhausted, mechanical and almost oblivious of surroundings for sometime after the day's work at the exchange is over. The milkman keeps the engine of his van going as he runs to leave the milk at the door. The news-boy twists the paper and throws it on to the lawn from the bicycle

without getting down. The waiters and waitresses in hotels and restaurants are extremely busy at meal times. Throughout the strenuous hour or two they maintain the same courteous attitude and behaviour and speech, a feat by no means easy when service has to be done quickly and well. The omnibus conductor keeps in mind the number of vacant seats available at the top at each halt. Even the policeman, gaunt and stalwart in his blue uniform, the one restful figure amidst the rush past of men and motors and apt to be looked upon as having but little to do, is subjected to the heavy strain of continued vigilance for hours. Before one has made up one's mind to seek his aid to cross the street, he is ready to take him. In the busiest moments he gives directions, terse and to the point, and before one is able to express thanks he has turned.

This universal speed-up necessarily goes along with organisation and discipline. The policeman's signal has to be understood and obeyed at once by all on the road to avoid accidents. Customers at shops and Post Offices, purchasers of tickets for the theatre or the railway, have to take their turn in the order they come. No atten-

tion will be paid to those who claim it in advance. Before the train arrives at the station the passengers to alight are ready with their grips to get out, and those to get in are equally ready in single file.

Inside theatres, churches and lecture halls, the atmosphere is almost electric with suppressed emotions. Infants are, as a rule, never brought. If any have been taken and they begin to cry, they are taken out at once. At railway stations, most passengers arrive about train time and there is no prolonged waiting for hours. Order, discipline and punctuality are a necessity. The more life is crowded the more is the need of these virtues, and life is crowded in the West. At each step there are facilities provided for passing quickly on to the next, and the momentum gathers as stage after stage is passed uninterrupted. Walk into a popular restaurant at meal time; you hand in your over-coat and other *impedimenta*; you are directed to the wash room where clean towels are provided. You wash and walk into the hall to be shown a vacant seat. You thread your way to it, have hardly looked through the menu, when you find a waitress is ready to take your orders. In a few minutes you are served, and when you finish, the bill is brought

and you rise leaving the amount and a tip. As you pass you get your overcoat and things back from the girl. There is little of waiting and things move without a hitch. So on the opening day at a University all the requirements of the day have been thought out carefully in advance. Applications have been arranged alphabetically and numbered. You just go to the window and give your name. You are handed the forms to be filled. According to the instructions given you fill them up and hand them back at another window, take a receipt and go to a third for payment, and admission is over. As many as 12,000 students may be registered thus in a couple of days, and there may not be more than half a dozen clerks to do the work.

For quick despatch of work concentration is essential. Distractions are, therefore, as far as possible eliminated. Each article is usually in its place. Rooms are furnished and decorated appropriately to the use to which they are put. Dress is similarly appropriate to the work on hand, and there are several types to choose from. Dining tables are neatly and gracefully laid and decorated, and the crockery and other necessities are all of one style of ornamentation and of size and shapes

appropriate to each course. The pictures in the room have an appropriate bearing on the object for which the room is intended.

Man is thus encouraged to put forth his best in individual or concerted effort. His life is as organised and 'crowded as the activities of the community' of which he is a part. He gets up early, washes and dresses for the day. He hurries through his breakfast reading the morning paper. He may take it with him to read it in the tram or the omnibus. He is at his desk or counter at the right time, and then commences a continuous strain of work which lasts, except for a brief interval for lunch, till closing time. What little relaxation he gets is in the evening, which he spends with his family, or in the club or theatre. So from day to day, and year to year. None can stand this strain continuously without serious injury. Relaxation is a necessity and means are provided at public expense. In almost every town there are parks beautifully laid out, decorated with statues and fountains, and provided with menageries and aquariums. There are numerous theatres and cinemas and other shows. There are sports of various description and frequent matches. Excursion parties are organised

and taken to places of interest from time to time. There are interesting lectures and sermons to be heard on a variety of subjects. Dances and balls, both public and private, are frequent and numerous. There are clubs and unions for various classes. The hours spent with the wife or companion are, however, the most wholesome, and so do many spend their leisure hours. The week-end is spent in much pleasant company, but the resorts are so crowded, and travel to and fro is so inconvenient in the crowded train, that one may fail to obtain the restoration sought through the change. The week-ends and long holidays are, however, generally for the better classes. For the lower orders of the population there is usually neither the means nor the opportunity for the repair of waste from the continuous toil and turmoil of life.

The enormous variety in the means and methods of relaxation and enjoyment is to be taken rather as an index of labour and toil than of ease and pleasure. They are a necessity rather than a luxury. Even with these to balance and to compensate, the West has not succeeded in escaping the inevitable consequences. Nervous strain and neurasthenia are frequent, and the proportion of

cases of serious mental derangement is unduly large in the more advanced countries. Suicide too is more frequent than it used to be. These are grave symptoms indicating that the strain of Western life has reached a stage where the body of man is permanently affected. There is little in human constitution to indicate that life can be speeded up to the velocity it has reached there without serious injury. Limits set by nature may not be transgressed, and the maladies described, so frequent in the West, are to my mind the penalties Nature has inflicted for demanding from life more than she has given to it.

III

COMPETITION

AMONG the more obvious and immediate causes that have made for this ceaseless and all-pervading activity of the West, which forms so distinguishing and impressive a feature of it, competition, comparatively free and unrestricted, is certainly the most important. Society in the West has travelled far from 'status,' to a stage where the relations between individuals and classes are governed by 'contract'. It is difficult to measure the extent and strength of the forces thus released. Status implies restricted competition, and when it is crystallised as in caste, the restriction is still greater. When status is the regulating principle, the various professions and crafts are graded according to a rigid standard of respectability, and an individual may not take up work which is below what he is entitled to by birth or position. To the extent of this restriction competition is limited. The calling of the butcher is looked down upon by the higher classes, and butchers therefore need have no fear from those classes who might have

brought to the trade superior resources of intellect and wealth. Nor may the butcher desert his profession and easily gain access to a higher profession. Competition is thus restricted to groups and classes which are exclusive.

The West has progressed far from this stage to a stage where competition is not so restricted. The butcher's trade is still looked down upon, and the son of a man engaged in this calling is usually denied entrance into the associations maintained at the Universities by students who consider that they belong to more respectable classes. Vestiges like these may still be detected, but there is nothing to prevent a butcher from acquiring the wealth necessary to secure admission to higher ranks of society, or individuals of the higher classes entering the meat trade. The facilities created by joint-stock companies render possible the application of wealth and intelligence drawn from all classes to trades and professions usually considered not quite respectable. The banker, whose son refuses to associate himself with the butcher's son at the University, may still be the director of a company engaged in meat trade. Capital and organisation are thus available for all trades and professions.

Competition was, however, limited by the capacity of individual production and human efficiency. The rivalry was only of brain and muscle, and competition remained much the same as before, restricted to well-defined groups. The adventurous spirits of the 16th and 17th centuries, who ventured abroad and returned loaded with wealth, gained access to the higher ranks of society; but the barriers closed down again. With the invention of machinery, however, a new factor was introduced, before which the ancient distinctions based on birth finally gave way. The capacity for production in the limitless energies newly discovered in steam and electricity, was enormous. The profits which had been drawn from the work of several thousands could now be earned by a few hands and a machine. New and unlimited fields opened for the exercise of man's ingenuity, inventive skill, organization and enterprise. Wealth was no longer limited to the owners of land and the merchants who handled its produce. A new class sprang up which had no distinctions of birth but which had wealth enough to command social position and political influence, and it became so large that the old criteria of social

position based on blood changed to one of wealth. Wealth remains to-day the main standard of social position in the West.

The change to a more elastic principle of social advance made for greater enterprise, and competition was no longer confined to sections or classes but open to all members of the community. The competition among members of a caste or guild is one among equals with aptitudes, inclinations, ambitions and resources equal, or nearly equal. Modern competition in a trade, however, may come from any class with equipments and resources of unknown quantity, and those already in a trade have to exercise the greatest vigilance not to be swept off their feet by a new comer. No manufacturer or trader can afford to neglect any part of his business, however secure for the moment it might seem, for the searching eye of a rival may detect a flaw or find a new method of which he may take advantage.

The position already acquired has, therefore, not only to be maintained but improved. The raw materials required have to be of the best quality, and the supply must be adequate and cheap. The machinery may be wasteful in parts and has to be improved, and processes

and methods have to undergo constant examination by experts to utilise the latest discoveries of science in those fields. Production is dependent often on distant markets. Their requirements have to be studied carefully and met. No part in the whole complicated process and transactions from the producer to the consumer may be neglected.

Competitors have to be distanced not by efficiency alone but by increase in the volume of business. The larger the output from the machinery, the less the cost of the overhead charges distributed over the articles manufactured, the cheaper the articles. Ford cars sell so low because many thousands are manufactured in a year, and English cars sell at high prices mainly because the output is in a few hundreds or thousands. Ford is trying to reduce the price of cars still further by manufacturing the glass, linoleum and other requirements of the car himself, and thus saving profits on these which used to go to the manufacturers who specialised in them. By introducing the hire-purchase system he is still further increasing his sales. On the same principle, some tyre manufacturers have acquired their own rubber plantations, and soap manufacturers have extensive areas

under cocoanut palm and steamers of their own to carry the copra to the factory. These large manufacturers employ their own research staff in all the sciences and arts which have a bearing on the industry in which they are interested.

The larger the organisations and the greater the volume of business, the greater the speed and intensity of life. The more machinery is perfected, the less is the number of hands required and the more have they to adjust to the speed of machinery. Machines have to be run at a certain speed for economic working, and men have to adjust to that speed. The greater volume of trade demands quicker transport and quicker sale, for capital cannot be allowed to lie locked up in goods without raising prices. Goods have therefore to be distributed quickly over a wider area, and a greater number of customers have to be reached quickly. Motors, trams and steamships, telegraph and telephones have been invented to meet these requirements of speed in modern business. With the aid of inventions, the range of man's interests has been enormously widened. Markets have become international in character. Policies and politics and the producing and consuming

capacities of many countries have to enter into calculation before the security and extension of business can be ensured. The aid of the home or of foreign governments may have to be sought and visits may have to be paid to be better in touch with the requirements of business. It is only thus that business is conducted successfully and pushed forward.

The collapse of class exclusiveness as a result of a growing class of monied men, who drew their wealth from industries rather than from land, has had its profound reactions on every class and profession in society. In every direction advance is stimulated by competition. In the field of education there is competition between schools and colleges and universities. Each tries to produce the best result not only in the number of passes but in the training given. Lists of successes achieved by men passed out are published, with photographs showing the situation of the institutions, and of the arrangements for recreation, research, board and lodging. The more successful draw the larger number of students, and there is consequently income adequate for offering remuneration attractive to the best of teachers. There is thus a rising

standard of efficiency, and the students trained in the more successful Universities are more in requisition than from others left behind in the race.

In scientific research there is the same spirit of rivalry. There are many problems of intense interest connected with industrial progress which, if solved, will bring substantial rewards. Even in pure science there is keen rivalry to get ahead of the workers in the same field and earn distinction, for distinction brings with it recognition in the shape of professorships at famous Universities and memberships of famous societies. In Law, Medicine, Engineering and other professions the struggle is keen, and only intensity of application and thoroughness will bring reward.

In society it is much the same. Each man or woman is impelled forward to move from one circle of society to a higher one, and admission depends on sociability, manners, appearance, humour and other qualities that attract and please. The advance of woman depends on her charms, and no resource of the beauty expert is neglected to secure social prominence. There may be rivalry between sisters, and sometimes even

mother and daughter. Recognition by men and women that count in society is, after all, the aim of individual progress, and it is not to be wondered at that there should be this rivalry. Apart from social recognition there are many other advantages to be derived. There are introductions to be obtained, and there is assistance to be sought which may further professional and business interests, which might not have been possible in the lower circle in which one had to move before. The woman who is endowed with beauty, or what may be made to pass for beauty, draws to herself crowds of worshippers in all gatherings. At dinners, dances, and balls she is the cynosure of all eyes, the centre of a circle of admiring friends. So great are the possibilities that incredible sums of money are spent to beautify her person and get ahead of rivals.

Time is precious. Each moment may be the making or the marring of a man. Reward is great but risks are equally great, if not greater. A little mistake in planning, a postponement or a delay, an act of neglect or carelessness may bring on disaster. Action, quick and decisive, is demanded in every field. The virtues so conspicuous in the West are virtues which have to be cultivated

to meet these larger demands on life. The credit of the West lies not so much in the possession of these virtues as in the capacity man there has demonstrated to reach the exacting level demanded by them.

Not all countries in the West are at the high level indicated. In Europe the Germans, the English and the French lead, and in the new world the Americans. It is significant that these countries have the largest foreign possessions, and resources in coal and iron, and that the population in these is largely urban. Among the conditions requisite for competition are abundance of opportunity and an urban life. Both features are common to the countries mentioned, except for Germany which was recently deprived of its colonies. In the other countries of Europe, where, from want of material resources or of colonies, these features do not exist, competition is less keen and efficiency much less. The people in southern Europe are at a lower level in this respect than several peoples of the East.

Even in the East, efficiency increases as conditions approximate more and more to those of urban life. Life is more intensely lived and exactions are far greater than in

rural areas. Time is considered more valuable, and this in spite of the fact that towns are few, and a considerable proportion of the town population are drawn from rural areas and accustomed to rural standards.

Society, then, in the West is in the competitive stage, and many of the distinguishing features of the West are essentially features indispensable to society in that stage.

IV

MACHINE AND MAN

I HAVE had occasion to refer to the almost universal speed-up of life in the West which results from the extensive use of machinery. That is but one of the consequences. There remain others to be noticed which cannot be fully realised before one understands the extent to which the machine dominates Western life. The railways, the motor cars and buses, electric lights, telephones and aeroplanes and broadcasting machines are the more obvious and striking. In industries the human agency has been so far eliminated that very complex manipulations are carried on without the aid of the hand. A bakery was seen run almost wholly by machinery from the mixing of the flour to the sorting of the loaves. In hotels where there may be as many as 500 at dinner, the crockery and silver-ware travelled for washing up a sliding board to a chamber, where they were cleaned by jets of steam at 200°C directed on to them, and came back to the starting point, not perhaps quite divested of

undesirable material on edges and corners, but completely sterilised. Other successful duplications and substitutes of human manipulations, usually considered impossible, might be mentioned.

In agriculture a large number of complicated processes are now carried on by machinery. Ploughing, levelling, sowing, inter-culturing, harvesting, binding and threshing may now be done by machinery. Even for so delicate an operation as digging out potatoes and ground-nuts, there are machines, and one has been invented for cotton picking. In dairying the machine is fast usurping the place of man and the dairy maid. There are cream-separators, chaff-cutters and apparatus for milking.

In the home there is a replacement as extensive. There are electric heaters, washing machines, vacuum cleaners, cookers, ironing machines, stoves, fans, and in the kitchen there are knife-cleaners, and sharpeners, egg-beaters, slicers, mashers, squeezers, shredders, pulpers and grinders, which simplify many an operation tedious when performed by the hand.

In offices type-writers, duplicators, dictaphones, comptometers, machines for affixing

stamps and seals, pencil sharpeners, etc., help to simplify and speed up the work.

In the home and in the offices and even in agriculture the advent of the machine has but added to the velocity of work and not produced any other deleterious consequences. But in the factory, where the substitution of machine power has proceeded farthest, there are added to velocity, in itself a heavy strain on the nerves, other features from which labour suffers most. The factory hand has not only to level up to the speed of the machine. He has to become almost a part of the machinery. He has usually assigned to him only one in a long series of operations. The Negro in the meat factory, it will be remembered, had but to swing up the stunned animal and pierce its heart. He repeated the same operation once every five minutes all through the working hours. So the man at the gate where the animals entered had but to deliver the blow on their forehead. The duty of each was one in a long series which finally ended in the finished product. It is the same in every factory. The work assigned to each is but a fraction, not perceived in a general result of great magnitude, in which his own individual share is with difficulty

detected, and in which therefore he has little personal interest. The man working at a handicraft is less mechanical. The whole series of operations which end in the finished product for the market is his work. He commands the whole process, has to adjust one operation to another, from the raw material at one end to the finished article at the other. He perceives himself directly the consequences of his neglect, mistake or want of skill. Nor does the demand on his resources end there. He has to produce or purchase the raw material and sell his wares, and, has therefore, to study the market for these and adjust his plans. He has to reckon with rivals. Mechanical skill is thus but a portion of the equipment he requires to ply his trade successfully. From time to time he has to draw upon his intelligence and his resourcefulness. He has to exercise his judgment and forethought, requirements which tend to preserve his humanity and mental life however mechanical and monotonous his craft by itself may appear. Whether he works in clay, metal, or in wood or cotton, he has the opportunity to exercise his artistic skill, and has the satisfaction of seeing pretty patterns rise before him as he works with his implements. That is a

wholesome influence which tends in no small measure to compensate him for the monotony of his trade. Nor is he compelled to work under high pressure such as is inevitable in the factory. He works slow or fast as he feels inclined. He determines the speed at which he desires to work.

The labour in the factory presents a distressing contrast. The operative does not spend so much muscular energy. The energy is there, supplied by the machinery. What he has to do is to see that the power produced is spent in the right way, which requires more mental than muscular effort. The motor chauffeur feels exhausted after continuous driving for several hours not so much on account of the muscular energy he has spent. That is nothing much. He feels exhausted because he has had to attend to the many details of careful driving, of steering clear of ruts and obstacles, and generally of avoiding accidents. What he has spent is more nervous energy. The factory operative has to meet a similar but more exacting demand. In a saw-mill visited by me, the planks came down a sliding board. There was a man, who had to sort the planks, who appeared to do little, but he was all attention. As the planks

came down slowly he had to determine the length at which they had to be cut, and bring into action the right saw at the right place. He could not take the eye off for a moment, for planks would pass down beyond the reach of the right saw. Work of this kind required effort of attention rather than of muscle. Factory labour is, for the most part, of this character. Indeed one is not sure whether machinery is not precluding too much the exercise of the muscle. A machine-saw for cutting trees into logs had only to be fixed on and started, and the man in charge had little else to do. The gardener waters lawns and plants by means of a long hose which is connected to a pipe and taken round to different places, and he has only to remain at each for a while.

While the demand on the muscle may be little, the increasing complexity of machinery and the delicacy of its manipulation are exacting to the nerves. This is bad enough. What is far worse is that the machinery is set to work at a speed determined rather by running costs than by the labourer's capacity for intensive work. The labourer's wishes do not count. The work demanded of him is mechanical, repetitive, fractional, and in-

tensive, vitiated further by the absence of proprietary interest either in the tools and machinery with which he works, or the wares he helps to manufacture. No sense of beauty can survive conditions like these. There is no charm in the 'kiss' of the toothed wheel or in the din and whirl of uproarious machinery.

The worst feature yet remains to be described. The advent of machinery has gradually replaced human labour, and, as it is being perfected, more and more labour is being replaced. The more there is of replacement, the more the tendency to unemployment. The tendency may be checked by over-production and capture of distant markets, but is checked only for a time. The labour market is crowded usually in all industrial countries, and, more often than not, the supply exceeds the demand. The labourer is thus at the mercy of the employer. Instead of a producer of commodities, as he used to be in the old days, he is now himself a commodity subject to the laws and incidents to which commodities are subject.

The cumulative effect of these varied influences is to degrade the labourer to the level of the animal. His herding together in over-

crowded slums, his poverty, the uncertainty of his employment, the rack and ruin of his nerves, his indulgence in unhealthy excitements, rob him of his humanity. Education is lost on him. He tends to be no more than a cog or a screw in the industrial mechanism.

One has to realise fully the extent of this degradation to understand the defects of the Western labourer, his indisposition to recreation which requires mental effort, his passion for the crude excitements of the cinema and the saloon, his irresponsiveness to softer and finer influences, and the poverty of his comprehension. I saw articles in the newspapers for his benefit written in the style of children's stories. I recall one against easy contentment in the present, headed by a large illustration of a pig feeding with a self-satisfied air, thoughtless of the approaching Christmas when he was to be slaughtered. Describing the silliness of this porcine satisfaction, the article proceeded to point out that many humans were as thoughtless of the morrow as the pig. There are men all the world over as silly as the pig, but I do not think these elaborate preliminaries would be required elsewhere to drive home so simple a truth. The directions given to voters to vote

at the right place betrayed an opinion as low of the comprehension of the average voter.

The reduction of the number of working hours need not necessarily afford the relief which it is expected to give. From what I saw I could not help viewing from a more sympathetic standpoint the demand of labour for shorter hours, which I had looked upon as fast becoming extravagant. An eight-hour day had appeared to me short enough but a six-hour day was in my opinion beyond all limits of reasonable demand. I cannot pretend to judge what would be a fair period, but I have no doubt that labour has substantial grounds for its demand in at least some of the industries. Machinery is being perfected from day to day, and with each improvement of it and each new invention, the labourer has to adjust more and more to the speed of the machine. Delays are avoided and operations are better timed. Work therefore becomes more intense and automatic, and nervous strain is greater. It is not to be wondered at if after work of a few hours under such high pressure, where hand, mind and eye have to strain their utmost to keep up to the level of the machine,

the labourer finds himself exhausted and irresponsible to softer influences. Minds tuned up to such intense vibrations do not slow down to normal at dispersal time. The excitements of the factory are easily exchanged for the milder excitement of the cinema and the saloon and the drink-house rather than for the quiet of the home. Who is to say but labour itself, that these exactions of modern factories are not past endurance, and are not at the sacrifice of many a thing that sweetens and ennobles life?

There was bound to be the revolt from conditions so degrading as those described above. Labour was itself horrified at the depths to which it was sinking, and it has gradually organised to exact better terms from the employer, and has succeeded in no small measure, and is bound to succeed more hereafter. In that struggle the healthier influences of industrial labour will help him in no small measure. For there is a brighter side as well to factory labour. If the labourer is reduced to the level of the machine, he acquires too the hardness, strength and regularity of the machine. The work under high pressure, the effort prolonged through several hours amidst the distractions of noise, the alertness and

quickness demanded, tend to steel the nerves, and enable him to meet situations in which the craftsman, accustomed to more leisurely ways, may often find himself unnerved and helpless.

There is a gain elsewhere, too, to the superior staff in the factory. The range of interests, and, therefore, of intelligence of the individual craftsman of old, was limited to the small circle of the consumers of his wares. The forces he had to reckon with were simple and not diversified, and his comparatively feeble equipment sufficed to meet them. The modern *entrepreneur* has to reckon with forces brought to bear on his professional capacity, on his leadership and control of men, on his intellect and quickness of despatch. In the control of large bodies of men rapidly being organised to take joint action in furtherance of their interests, in the increasing application of science to the improvement and perfection of machinery, in the increasing complexity and range of economic forces, now no longer limited to localities or countries but prevailing the whole world, he has to exercise judgment and forethought of the highest character. It is an education to have the privilege of contact with men of this description.

There is not alone the extreme of wealth and poverty in the West, but the sadder and more dangerous extreme of reason and animality.

THE UNDER-WORLD

THE variety and range of forces released under free competition cannot be fully realised unless one acquaints oneself with the condition of those who lose in the struggle. The ultimate fate of those who fail to make good in life may be the slum; and one has to see it for oneself to realise the full implications of that alternative to success. Many of the features of slum life are well-known, and I had read of them; but what I pictured in imagination was short of the reality. The advice that English friends gave, who knew something of it, that I should not visit the place, gave me the first shock. I could not fully realise the import of the injunction that, go if I must, I should have a policeman along, or one who was known as a friend among slum-dwellers. The policeman, of whom we asked the way, repeated the same warning. I had only to set my eyes on one of these denizens to realise what was meant. The form was human all right, but there was scarce a human trait. Unclean, with tattered clothing carelessly worn, with unshaven face, his whole

appearance was forbidding, and his stare, half cold and half defiant, I could not meet without wincing. I felt as though a mechanism was slowly moving, and passions were gathering for a sudden outburst of violence. We did not stop to talk, but I was sure the man would think as little of murder, if the chance came, as of crushing a fly. I saw many other men and women as degraded and as brutish, with all human traits so completely absent that even in the wretchedness they were in, which called for sympathy and charity, the mind struggled hard against the evidence of the senses that they were human beings. The hard conditions in which they live are such that it is not a matter for surprise that they have been reduced to that level. The climate of Northern Europe is trying. The cold cannot be endured without warm and heavy clothing and foot-wear, without adequate shelter from piercing winds and snow, and without the addition, in winter, of a fire. Nor are the torments of hunger any the less when heat, as soon as it is formed in the body, tends to be dissipated. Imagine how insupportable life becomes when these large requirements cannot be satisfactorily met, when men, women and children, with torn clothing and

tattered shoes affording many an inlet to cold and wet, have to pass the night on empty stomachs, on steps and pavements with temperature at zero or less. Sleep under such exacting conditions may prove fatal, and policemen are authorised to keep these helpless creatures on the move till the day breaks. That is the condition of the poorest of the poor. There are thousands of them condemned to pass the night often almost in sight of a warm fireside, with a family edging towards it in easy chairs and sofas. Those who can find the few pence required for a shelter in the night gather in a large room by the hundred, all sexes and ages, usually the worse for drink, and sharing what little can be shared of the warmth from a feeble fire. Go higher still, many may be found tenants of a single room in which all are huddled together, father, mother, grown-up sons and daughters. In the night what unnamable violations may not happen! Those who are disposed to condemn the poor unfortunates, must first demonstrate that their higher ideals will survive overcrowding of that character, not lasting for a day but for months. Mrs. Despard became a suffragist when a girl said her condition was due to her father, and a friend of mine

visiting a Hospital heard a girl confess that she got her infection of syphilis from her own brother. Such cases may not be many, but that housing conditions should exist which make for such immorality is the most disgraceful blot on Western civilization.

Incest apart, there are other harrowing details. The rents of rooms are dependent not on size but on the number of occupants, and in a case that came up before the court, it transpired that the children had all to hide under an old sofa in the corner in the dark so that the landlord might not detect their presence. They were filthy and infested with lice. Under conditions hard as these, there is speedy demoralisation. In the trials of life man must win occasionally if the fight in him is to remain. Repeated failures and sufferings gathering thick as a result, man loses heart, the hedges he sets up give way one after another, and temptations find him unarmed and defenceless. So he surrenders to vice and crime: vice because opportunities exist in such abundance, and crime because he comes to hate the society which would sanction or approve of or acquiesce in arrangements so wholly one-sided and unfair. Drink is the abettor. In the cold of the West,

alcohol warms up the body, and the temptation to drink is strong. In the slum-dweller, it makes for the excitement which helps him to forget for the moment the hard condition of his life. The habit gains on him, and obligations to wife and children are gradually forgotten, and he drags himself and them to still lower depths of degradation. The wife often shares the drink habit with the husband, and the children, often tainted with venereal diseases, and brought up in privation and in terror of brutalised parents, have their natures twisted and contorted for the rest of their life.

Charity organisation and missionary effort, however well-endowed and enthusiastic they may be, can do but little. A few may be reclaimed, the lives of a few others may be rendered fairly supportable, but the vast bulk must remain unaffected by these well-meant efforts so long as the causes which make for these inhuman conditions remain. The slum is there because competition is fierce and keen in every department of life, and because it does not take into account the tremendous inequalities of life. Nor is there any provision against catastrophes, inevitable in organisations requiring delicate

and complex adjustments, from which the poor suffer most.

Under the regime of the machine, production is no longer for local or national but for international requirements; and business is subject to fluctuations and setbacks which may come from any point in the vast area served by it. A new tariff wall may be set up in foreign countries against the goods manufactured. Imports may compete in the home market itself. Wars or threatened wars may do away for a time with demands which used to be steady, or the raw materials may be cornered and prices carried to a point at which business can be saved only by shorter hours or reduction of hands. The set-back thus received in one industry may have its repercussions on others closely allied.

In all these circumstances, those who are hardest hit are the labourers, who always have to live on the margin, whose wages have not been sufficient to help them through a period of continued un-employment. Whatever increase in wages they get is too often neutralised by the increase in the cost of living, and stringency of one kind or another compels them to resort to loan sharks who

may charge as much as 40 to 100 per cent. There is a large family of children, perhaps, the wife is weak and cannot contribute to the family exchequer, or there is sickness at home. One or other of these causes, or all combined, may prove the last straw. When causes so powerful are at work, what will a few organisations of charity avail?

These causes must go if a little light is to reach the recesses of this dark under-world, and they will not go so long as the West refuses to release itself from a most pernicious system of competition in which the rich, the favoured, and the poor are considered equal in the race for winning the good things in life. It offends every canon of fair-play, offends against the elementary principles of mathematics, to declare things equal which are unequal by inheritance, equipment, and resources. They declared equality in the United States a century and a half ago, and yet to-day two-thirds of the national wealth is in the hands of one-sixth of the population, and several millions own nothing besides the clothes on their backs. If competition continues on the same lines as now, another hundred years will find the Americans more

unequal in point of wealth than they are to-day.

So long as the inequalities continue, the slum will continue, absorbing, retaining and brutalising the failures in life; and terrified by that gruesome alternative such of them, as can, will sharpen their wits, and fold up their sleeves for work determined to win. That determination is wholesome; but along with it there will be much of selfishness, narrowness of understanding, a deadening of the more human and kindly emotions. The man not a good swimmer himself and hardly able to keep his head above water, dare not extend a helping hand to another about to drown, for fear that both may have the same fate. When the struggle is over and the bankⁿ has been gained, safety may awaken the sympathies that were suppressed. But of what avail is it to the man that was drowned? Struggle has not hardened Western Society so far as to make the rich forget their obligations to the poor. The richer classes subscribe liberally to charities, and establish and finance all organisations to deal with the problems of poverty and slum life, but the memory of their own struggle has not softened their hearts so far as to do away with the system

altogether in which, for the few that succeed, there are many that fail, and fail miserably. They have, as it were, organisations to help those who are maimed in the struggle of life, but they have none to prevent a struggle which maims so many.

VI

EDUCATION

IN a system in which rewards are so great to the successful and consequences so serious to the failures, competition has not only to be free but also fair. That is the only way to reduce to a minimum the bitterness and humiliation of defeat. The conditions of society in the competitive stage have, therefore, to be equal and uniform for all the individuals composing it. All should have the same training, the same resources, the same equipment, and the same start. This equalisation of opportunity, to the limit of human possibility, is the ideal competitive societies should aim at, and is indeed one of the objects of socialism. But even the most advanced countries are very far from that stage. Indeed one is not at all sure that most countries are not against so universal a uniformity of conditions, from the certainty of depriving individual and national effort of the self-advancement which forms so large a part at present of its driving power. The advance of the lower orders of the population to political power, is gradually bringing about

changes more and more in the direction of fair competition, and education is being widely diffused as one of the means of equalisation.

As late as 1832 the percentage of literacy in England was as low as 4 per cent. Now 95 per cent of the population can read and write. In Germany, France, and other more progressive countries, it is as high or nearly as high. In the United States it is a little over 50 per cent, but there are special causes making against a rapid advance there. Primary education is compulsory in most of these countries, and children of the very poor, suffering from under-feeding, are provided with one meal a day at the schools. They are inspected medically from time to time, and no pains are spared to set right the defect arising from insanitary and unwholesome conditions of life. Secondary and University education are free in the United States. In England, on the other hand, higher education is costly. Facilities vary very much from country to country, but it might be said generally that in most the opportunity for adequate training is provided, which may be taken advantage of by those whom circumstances permit. This is far from equalised education. But a

great part of the road has been traversed in the West. The principle is recognised, and as governments become more responsive to the interests of the poor, the rest of the journey will be completed.

The character of education has changed with the change of society from status to contract. Before machines were invented, and while the son as a rule followed the profession of the father, training in arts, crafts and the professions was obtained through apprenticeship, and schools and colleges taught the Classics more than the Sciences. The range of interests of the average individual did not extend beyond the circle of the small community to which he belonged. With the advent of Machinery and the creation of Capital, however, the self-sufficing character of the community disappeared, and they were drawn into close interdependence. The range of interests widened beyond the reach of personal contact and oral communication. Industries and agriculture being directed by capital and worked more and more by machinery, efficiency rather than inherited rights mattered. The son could not any longer follow the profession of the father but had to acquire a general education, in

which science figured largely to serve as a foundation for more special training afterwards in the direction indicated by opportunities and aptitude. In the competitive stage of society, education is therefore sought, not by the few for its intellectual and ethical satisfactions in the undisturbed security of inherited status and opportunity, but by the many for its practical utilities in the incessant upheavals and subsidences of an ever-changing society. The humanities have only a secondary appeal.

The educational institutions of the West have to fulfil these requirements. Their popularity depends on the extent to which the training given helps their students in the struggle of life. Established to meet the requirements and the necessities of the people, and so constituted as to be responsive to public opinion, they are in harmony with the prevailing thought and sentiment of the people. National in character, they cultivate a national outlook and national ideals, and there are none of those numerous conflicts and dislocations between the home and the school which tend to neutralise energies and enthusiasms in India.

The Universities offer a wide variety of

courses in every science, many of them self-contained and so arranged that a student can take such as will help in the profession he has chosen, without the necessity of having to go through others which he may not require. The free exercise of choice, in which he is assisted by a professor generally appointed for the purpose, helps to define clearly the aim of the student. Each course brings to his credit a number of units which go to make up the total required for the degree. A course, once completed and the required units obtained after examination, is done with, and does not appear in the final examination.

Examinations are frequent, but the record in each examination counts for the final result. The enormous burden on the hapless Indian student, of having to remember all that was learnt for two or three years for a final examination, which makes it so inhuman and unreliable a test, does not rest on the shoulders of his Western brother.

The facilities for research are abundant. The libraries are well-stocked with all the literature necessary for it, and apparatus is available or can be obtained at short notice. There are numerous endowments, prizes and

fellowships for research in every branch. No professor is considered worth the name who has no research to his credit, or is not engaged in research. Each is in complete touch with the developments in his field, and fully posted up with the literature. He is competent to suggest lines of investigation, to stimulate and guide. His advancement is not dependent on any rule assuring promotion according to service and seniority, but on the results of his work. The powers of the President are wide, and have not been limited by safeguards which, while preventing the possibility of abuse of patronage on his part, too often render its legitimate exercise in the furtherance of efficiency almost impossible.

• The subjects of research are intensely practical, and have a bearing on the problems engaging the attention of the manufacturer, the professions, the public or the nation. The interaction between research in pure and applied science is mutual. One discovery in the former leads to its application in the latter, which again leads to a fresh crop of problems for pure science. Nor is research in one science without its influence on another. For the advance made in one

science many other sciences may have to contribute.

Research grows best on research, and those engaged in it are drawn together by associations, clubs, conversaziones and frequent meetings. In any field, however small, there are always several engaged in research, who meet and discuss problems and results. In place of the doubt and diffidence of isolation there exists the enthusiasm and confidence of comradeship in a common enterprise. There is an atmosphere of research about the more progressive of the Universities, which tends to produce and fix the right frame of mind and the correct outlook, so essential to sustained enthusiasm for the cause of science.

Each institution strives to develop and maintain an individuality of its own. In these attempts it is not hampered by the insistence, by a central authority, on any common standard in disregard of local circumstances. Whether created by the State or by private munificence, each has a self-governing constitution, which does not allow of stereotyping. Each has or acquires a distinctly local character and a distinct individuality, cultivating a spirit of pride in its name, in the successes it has scored in sports

and in debates over other Universities, and in the alumni which have attained eminence. The touch with the past students is carefully maintained, and relations between the *alma mater* and her students are of mutual good-will and help. Students from the same Universities living in the same place often form clubs of their own to preserve the associations and friendships of early days.

The responsibility for maintaining the tradition and honour of the institution rests among the students, with the seniors who are allowed by an unwritten law to subject the new comers to the discipline and the standard required. Such disciplining takes various forms which are difficult to interpret. Juniors are first made aware of their subordinate and dependent position in the University on admission day when they are subjected to many a humiliation, all carried out, however, in perfect good humour. There are posters all over the place indicating what is in store for the new comers. They may be made to fight with picked men from the second year, in which they are sure to be worsted. They may be then tied up and thrown one after another into a heap from which they must

shuffle off as best they can. Some may be marched back and forth until their tormentors are satisfied. They have patiently to listen to uncomplimentary epithets pronounced on them, or may be dressed in ludicrous garments and carried in procession.

The first five days are thus passed, but it is not over for the juniors. They have a distinctive dress of their own at the University to mark off their lower position, and may not affect the dress of the senior men without serious punishment. They are told off as fags to the seniors, for whom they have to perform many a little service, such as carrying letters to the post, making up beds, cleaning up the room, etc. Failure to do so is followed by punishment, usually harmless, but sometimes exceeding proper limits. In one instance, where a fag failed to tidy up the room of his senior, he was taken to an adjoining hill at night, stripped of his clothes and left to make his way as best he could to the dormitory, naked and shivering with cold. In another case the punishment was even more cruel, the boy having had boiling coffee thrown on him.

Indian students, unaccustomed to these practices, may not usually view them in the

proper light. Students are not as docile and submissive in the West as they are in the East, where they are much softened by the mutual adjustments and accommodation necessitated by life in a joint family. The Western student has had only the discipline of his home. He comes to the University overflowing with vitality, and the requirements of discipline are brought home to him with difficulty. He has been known to set at defiance the municipal rules, and cause serious annoyance at public meetings, and disturbances at theatres and shows. The vigilance of the authorities cannot cover the whole area, and the sense of responsibility in the seniors often helps in the maintenance of discipline. Themselves trained up to the standard, they are eager and enthusiastic in bringing up the juniors to that same standard. They are, therefore, the custodians of the traditions and standards of the University. Many Universities have gone even further. They have entrusted committees of students with the responsibility of enquiring into and reporting upon breaches of University regulations and making recommendations as to the kind of punishment to be awarded. The recommendations are usually

accepted, and I was told that cases where students failed in their duties occurred very rarely. With such powers of supervision, the senior students work in harmony and close co-operation with the authorities, and they develop a consciousness of responsibility born of respect given to their judgment and opinion.

Rigorous as the discipline is, the individuality of the student is respected. The contrast that is here presented to his treatment in India, is pleasing and instructive. The enforcement of authority is not allowed to prevent the ordinary courtesies that are due to a student. There are none of those cold and frigid attitudes and stilted conversations which tend to make the Indian student avoid his professors. On the other hand when the class is over, the professor is ready to enter into easy and familiar conversation with his students, and occasionally to promote and share in good humour and merriment. The relations of teacher and student are for the moment forgotten, and all share in the common hilarity.

The rules of the University go on the principle of trust rather than that of suspicion. The investigation of breaches of dis-

cipline already referred to, is a considerable responsibility with which to entrust students. They go even further. In several Universities there is no supervision over examinations, and the students are trusted as gentlemen who will not resort to questionable means to meet the requirements of a test. Not all Universities, however, have adopted this system, but it is bound to spread, for the recognition is gaining ground, both among the teachers as well as the public, that educational institutions should help as much to foster the better elements in character as to suppress the bad, and it must be admitted that the inhibitory side of education is by no means the more important part in the building up of character.

In many Universities there is a daily newspaper under the sole management of the students, who themselves do all the work connected with it. There may be, besides, one or two magazines. The get up of these is excellent, and the articles are of a fairly high standard considering that they are from students. Where students number a thousand or more, these serve as an excellent medium for the circulation of University news, and for the discussion of University problems and requirements.

While these are features which are certainly pleasing, there are others less welcome. No human institution, however perfect, can escape the influences of its environment, and educational institutions are no exception to the rule. I have already explained how the rivalry of institutions makes for a general rise in standard. That is all to the good. But the larger struggle of life, of which that between sister institutions for popular support is only a minor aspect, tends to make the training too practical and utilitarian. In the stress and strain of competition, culture, which is essentially a sympathy with the points of view of others, is rather a handicap. The humanities, therefore, go by the board. The sciences dominate almost exclusively, and even of science they take no more than what is absolutely required. Science is too cold, too intellectual to train up the emotion, too specialised to engender a larger outlook.

The exclusive devotion to science produces other consequences. The students do not appear to know much about the world, its various countries and peoples, nor about other civilizations and cultures. Indeed, it is very much to be doubted whether they believe that any civilization could exist but their own.

Nor is their information about their own country more than superficial, and anything beyond what, for example, may be gathered from the casual reading of newspapers.

This narrowness of outlook is rather a defect of the community than of the University. The University is, however, the place where the defect should be removed, but I found few attempts made in that direction. There are societies with membership open to all nationalities; and occasional dinners of a cosmopolitan character are given, in which students and professors take part. But the platitudes of after dinner oratory do not soften prejudices or broaden outlooks when students may study the history of philosophy ignorant of the existence of philosophical systems outside of Europe, or when the history of India may commence for them from the days of the East India Company. We need hardly be surprised if, in these circumstances, the suspicion and the contempt towards other nationalities, not necessarily of the East, so unfortunate a feature of Western nationalism, are preserved and cultivated rather than weeded out and destroyed.

The ignorance of students is by no means confined to foreign countries and peoples.

They are equally ignorant about many other things which, as students at a University, they ought to know. When I was in the States a questionnaire drawn by the famous inventor, Edison, as a test for the selection of applicants seeking appointments in his laboratory, was published in the newspapers. The questions were by no means difficult, and an average Indian student could have answered most of them, excepting perhaps some of the few relating to the United States. It appeared, however, that only one among the applicants was able to answer the entire series. The fact was widely commented upon at the time—a few newspapers even considering the questions as unfair. Edison's complaint, however, that students knew little besides their own subject of study at the University, will, I believe, be supported by most observers.

The students are not much to blame. Time presses inside the walls of the University as much as, if not more than, it does outside, and the students concentrate on what will help them in the struggle for life. Their minds are too preoccupied to take in and retain what, they consider, has little or no bearing on the careers they seek, little realising that science is the poorer for isolation.

from other branches of knowledge and for minute fragmentation within itself.

These defects of the Western student lead me to consider whether, for all the wide diffusion of education in the West and the stupendous circulation of printed matter, the average citizen is the better in his knowledge and culture in the same proportion. Such information as is poured in on him relating to the particular sphere of his interest, is of the utmost value. It makes him efficient in the highest degree; but outside that field can his attention travel far, and, if it can, will the impressions remain long with him? There is a limit to the number and variety of things the mind can take in solution, and when it is saturated with one's own professional interests that limit is easily reached, and what is added does not dissolve or dissolves only to be thrown down as a precipitate. Nor is there, on what is taken in, the reflection and the play of thought necessary to obtain full beneficial influence. Knowledge ought to be some thing more than a pigeon-holing, not something to be classified and arranged to be drawn upon when need arises. It is to be viewed and reviewed in detail, and as a

whole, and on other occasions as well than only when needed, to understand its full implications and significance.

To be concerned with only the utilitarian aspect of knowledge is to miss other aspects of lesser money value, but none the less beautiful and wholesome. The dealer in classical pictures may know enough of art to buy and sell pictures of old masters to the best advantage, but is often too cold and calculating for deriving from them the spiritual and aesthetic satisfaction which a contemplation of them may bestow. So it is with people who look upon knowledge solely as a means of swelling their bank accounts. They miss the cultural side of it, which money cannot purchase. These aspects cannot be considered, however, when time presses. The standards and requirements of the individual are fixed by competition, and education is valued for what it brings in material gain ; and other qualities, which may hinder rather than help in competition, must be discarded.

VII

NEWSPAPERS

THE diffusion of information is as much a necessity in a competitive society as the diffusion of education. In the self-sufficing rural communities of old, information transmitted by word of mouth sufficed. With the range of interests widened to embrace a nation and the whole world, news is too important, too varied, and is derived from too many sources for oral communication. Remote events may have consequences nearer at home, consequences which may be serious and have to be avoided, or, if beneficial, taken advantage of by timely information. Newspapers are records of the daily experiences of individuals and communities, and progress is based on experience.

The keener the struggle, the more the need for an efficient press. The number and variety of newspapers and magazines in all progressive communities are, therefore, very large. Each party, each trade, each interest and profession, has its papers and magazines. There are magazines devoted to foot-ball, poultry, farming, cattle-breeding, canning,

prisons, hotels, travel, the University, schools, ladies, children, the home, needle-work, motors, cycles, humour, literature, fiction, sciences, philosophy, religion, the professions, and other subjects too numerous to mention.

Every literate man reads the newspaper. Men of average means will have at least two or three newspapers, besides several magazines. Even the remote farmer has his supply. Besides those that are obtained for the home, one has access to others of every variety in the numerous reading rooms and libraries to which admission is usually free. The demand for news is so universal that circulation of newspapers may run from a few thousands to several millions. *The Daily Mail* has a circulation of about two millions, and *The Saturday Evening Post* of the United States has a weekly circulation of over three millions. *The Literary Digest*, a high class weekly review, has a circulation of over a million, while that of the dailies in the larger towns may reach five figures.

Between papers in the same town there is keen competition. Each tries to obtain and publish news and interviews in advance of others, and each parades its achievements, some of which cost very large sums. A news-

paper sent a photographer by aeroplane to a town damaged by a flood, over a thousand miles away, and published photographs of the devastation caused within a couple of days after the first telegrams were received! Support is canvassed and funds opened in aid of deserving organizations and associations. New features, likely to prove popular, are added. The light of publicity is turned on every important incident, trial, event or achievement, and no resource of the draughtsman, the photographer and the reporter is left untried to acquaint the reader with the fullest details. Most newspapers go so far in this direction that what is best screened from the public gaze, is exposed in all its nakedness. Photographs of a lynching were published in several newspapers twelve hours after the dreadful deed was done. Reporters, like vultures, crowd round the carcasses of dead reputations. The unsavoury details of a gruesome murder, or of a divorce suit, furnish to many papers the ideal material for presentation to readers under glaring headlines, which tend to excite the grosser passions and debase the taste of the multitude. Sensation is provided rather than sense.

Circulation is thus increased at the sacri-

fice not only of refinement of thought and feeling but also of style. Articles have to be prepared to suit the cruder comprehension of the masses. Style has to be simple, and the appeal rather to passions than intellect. A difficult situation or a complex problem is laid bare with a few masterly strokes of the pen, so that the essentials can be easily grasped. This requires no small skill in presentation, though there can be but few of the graces and refinements which cultured minds would like to have. Descriptions are graphic, and the leaders short and forceful.

Pressure of time has as much influence on the style as the desire to cater to the taste of the multitude. Readers have no time to read all that is in the paper. They have to select. The head-lines are often sufficiently indicative of the contents of the smaller items. But of the larger items, occupying a column or more, the gist is given in the first couple of sentences to enable the reader to decide whether the whole is worth reading or not. What is generally held back, until the details are gone through, is given at the start. There are other serious departures from accepted standards in the United States, and there have been complaints, specially from England

where editors are a little more careful, about style and presentation. Style, however, is not anything immutable. It tends to adapt itself to changing requirements. Even in England the present day style does not correspond to standards of Victorian prose. Life was moving more leisurely then both for the writer, and the reader. The West has shot far ahead since, and moves with a velocity many times greater than what it was then. Style, therefore, could not remain the same without serious dislocations from elements which are more important than time and rhetoric. Nor has American style fixed upon a definite standard. It seems to be yet in the making. When the right style is discovered, it is likely to be found to conform more to American rather than English ideals.

The amount of printed matter kept in circulation by the press may appear incredible. The daily editions of the larger newspapers may run to 50 or 75 pages, and Sunday editions to 176 pages! A considerable part is made up of advertisements, but there is still left a balance of which only a fraction can be read. There are sections devoted to sport and amusements, theatres, fiction, motor cars, literature, humour, and

illustrations, the last on art paper. The productions are superb in get up, and some like *The Saturday Evening Post*, have all the pages on art paper.

Contributors to the better class papers are from writers of note, who are paid substantial remuneration. The same contribution may, by arrangement, appear in several papers. So are sketches, and photographs also distributed. Journalism is a recognised profession, and many Universities offer courses in it. The men trained in these make an efficient staff. Men and women in other professions also try to add to their incomes by writing articles and stories, and, as all accepted contributions are liberally paid for, the field of competition is wider than in most other professions, and many amateurs who by trial discover their aptitude for it are drawn to professional journalism.

In spite of the bulk and costliness of production, these papers sell at ridiculously low prices. The daily editions of some of the more popular newspapers cost no more than a penny in England, and from three to five cents in America, and the Sunday editions twice that sum. The price may hardly cover the cost of paper, and when one remembers

that there are usually contributions of every description in them obtained at very high rates, the price seems still more incredible. A penny is hardly $1/72$ of the average daily income of an English labourer, and five cents represents very little to a common American labourer, who earns 300 to 500 times that amount in a day. The contrast presented to the costliness of an Indian newspaper, which sells at about a half or third of the daily wages of a cooly, is illuminating.

The cost of production is undoubtedly far in excess of the receipts from the circulation, no matter how large it may be. What renders these journalistic feats possible is the extensive advertising, which is charged for heavily. A great bulk of the paper consists of advertisements; the greater the circulation, the more costly the advertisements. I was told that one full page in the issue of *The Saturday Evening Post* costs as much as 5,000 dollars or Rs. 15,000; and a great part of this weekly consists of advertisements. Ultimately, of course, the public pays for these in the enhanced prices it has to give for the goods so brought to its notice. But the cheapness brings newspapers within the reach of the poor and the lowly.

The dependence on advertisements, rather than on circulation, has its darker side. Advertisers have to be humoured. Their interests and wishes may have to be consulted or respected, or advertisements may be withdrawn. Threats of this character are made when frauds have to be exposed or conduct condemned, and such threats usually come from men who wield considerable influence. Such newspapers as can afford to take the risk treat the threats with contempt, but few are in that position. A great number of abuses may be hushed up or glossed over in the interests of influential patrons. These lapses from the high standards of journalism are to some extent prevented by the rivalry between papers and the interests they represent. Each is unscrupulous enough to gain in public estimation at the expense of its rival, and what is suppressed by one may be exposed by the other.

Journals are run usually in the interests of one party or another in the West, and serve to canvass support on its behalf. Discussions of events and situations follow party lines. Each is so intensely absorbed in its own interests that it fails to present the other side, or presents it in the worst

light. This rivalry tends to obscure issues, and the public are often too bewildered in the maze of conflicting arguments to judge fairly between the parties. It makes for narrowness of outlook and thought, which does not fail to infect the readers, and makes partisans of those who are to be the ultimate judges not of party but of national issues in a democratic form of government. The vote has reached classes for whom judgment on issues involving individual and national welfare is difficult, and who have, therefore, to be educated to the exercise of so valuable a privilege. What newspapers do is rather to exploit than remove their ignorance on behalf of the interests they represent.

Even more deleterious is the influence of the combination of newspapers. The capacity for good or evil of a newspaper is obviously enormous, and becomes enormously multiplied when the ownership of several newspapers passes into the hands of one individual, who thus acquires an influence over parties and governments almost equal to that of a dictator. He may make and unmake governments, and thrust upon them policies and dependants against their wishes. It is said that William

Rundolph Hearst daily addresses five million homes through the twenty dailies that he owns in the United States. Lord Northcliffe till his death was, and Lord Rothermere now is, in that commanding position in England. The wishes of these have to be respected and may not be defied by political leaders, or a whole avalanche of agitation may be hurled against the offender who, if he happens to be in power, may be swept off from office into oblivion. The phenomenon is but the extension of capital into the region of journalism. The dictatorship is much the same as in finance and in industries, but the influence wielded by a dictatorship in politics is more direct, and, therefore, greater and more conspicuous, though influences that make for it are the same. Growth of organisation and expansion are inevitable to capital in whichever field of human activity it may be employed.

The power wielded by the press is thus enormous. It helps to crystallise the collective will of the community and define the lines of action. It does little to purify or correct the latter. Its influence is rather the other way. It has allied itself too much with parties and sectional interests,

and relies too much on passions and prejudices to maintain much breadth of outlook and moral excellence. The drag of the multitude is on it. With the passing of the vote into the hands of large classes of people who have not the equipment to use it correctly, with the progress of literacy and the growth of competition, all different aspects of the same impulse, the movement is rather downwards than upwards. It is not so much pitch as amplitude that matters, not so much depth as spread, not so much reflection as thought, not so much truth as conviction, not so much excellence as effect.

VIII

ADVERTISEMENT

AMONG the most conspicuous features of the West are the advertisements. They are as great a necessity as newspapers in a society closely knit and interdependent. The old days are long past when the individual was born and brought up in a small community in which the members knew one other, their ways and habits and capacities, and could trace the history of each family back to the time when it first settled amidst them. Personal contact and personal intimacy was then too great for dissimulation and camouflage. A busier and a larger life has come in the place of the primitive simplicity, a life which is shared by too many, and in which individuals change their social position and residence too often to admit of the intimacies and detailed knowledge of a permanent neighbourhood. Men and women have to be judged by what they are and what they claim to be, rather than by what they have been, more by their present than by their past. Appearances are more often mistaken for reality, and the individual, no

longer subject to the close scrutiny of a limited neighbourhood, is compelled to show off to the best advantage the capacities that he has, and tempted to conceal what may retard his progress. There is an obscurity for an individual in the multitude, which helps to conceal his virtue and vice alike, but virtue needs the light of publicity for advancement.

The necessity for commercial advertisements is even greater. To capture distant markets in advance of rivals, to keep goods in the public eye, to retain and increase custom, advertisements are necessary. In the hurry and haste of life, people have little time to waste in the search of articles they require. One has but to recall the tedious delays in meeting one's requirements in a small town in the East, to realise the great convenience of advertisements. It may, for instance, take long to find a house to let, and, when one is found, it may take longer still to find the owner. But in a Western town one has but to run one's eye through the lists in the advertisement columns of a local paper, to select one suited to one's requirements, and fix it up by phone or post.

I have already indicated the large space

taken up by advertisements in newspapers and magazines. I have had occasion also to refer to the use of electric devices in advertisement. Enormous placards are the first to greet one as one approaches a town. On either side of the railroad they jostle against one another in many different colours, swearing to the excellence of the goods advertised. Car tyres, chewing gums, biscuits, flours, hotels, animals, faces and names, interjections and exclamations, flash past to persist in the memory—a phantasmagoria of paints, letters and figures. This is a very trying welcome, but is only a foretaste of what is to come. In the station, and outside in the street, they are in the thousands. The buses and trams carry huge placards. Hand-bills are upon porticoes, on facades, on flags. They hang in the air, they disfigure window panes, doors and lavatories, and walls are plastered over with them. They are clamorous in waiting rooms. They intervene and grin between films at the cinema. They hang about the necks of sandwichmen. They appear and withdraw and wink most impudently from electric bulbs. They interrupt a story at its most interesting point. They peer at us from the roofs of trams. They shout, they clamour

they assure; and finally they judge and decide for you.

One feels that out in the country one may escape this vexatious pursuit, and looks forward with more than usual pleasure to the prospect of a ride in the country in which one may escape, for a time at least, from it. But the abomination of paint and alphabet intrudes even there, marring the beauty of the landscape with its ugliness, and the serenity and the calm with its loud protestations. Enormous wooden boards covering several square yards were found erected at intervals of a few miles, furnishing to the passers-by some historical information of tremendous local interest, and along with it the virtues of a motor tyre! A pickle manufacturer has built into a hill along a rail-road gigantic numerals indicating the number of varieties of the pickles he makes. Nothing but the figure is there, but when curiosity impels the passenger to enquire how came these enormous numerals in cement on the hill, the answer is usually forthcoming in a way which would be much to the satisfaction of the manufacturer.

The part that advertisement plays in modern life is so important that it has

acquired almost the dignity of an art. Courses are provided at some of the Universities to train students in it. The trained men may make a substantial income. A student friend of mine preparing for the M. Sc. degree told me that his sister, who took up the profession, had, in the course of a few months, begun to earn far more than he could ever hope to as a Doctor of Science.

Advertising has thus reached a high level of excellence. Most advertisements are in colours so selected as to make the impressions endure. Red burns on a background of black or slaty blue, or blue scintillates on yellow. Yellow is a favourite in the open broad daylight. Green, the coolest of colours, is seldom used. Letters are made to look solid. Besides the clever combinations of colour, there are ingenuities of mechanism and photographic art. To advertise a dental cream an ingenious apparatus was seen, in which the figure of a negro boy applied it to his customer, who then looked into a mirror and shook his head to express dissatisfaction, and then it was applied again, and the process repeated twice or thrice, after which the customer nodded his head in satisfaction. The mechanism executed this complicated action without a

hitch, and continued doing it at short intervals. A headache cure was advertised by a photograph on ground glass, of a lady who appeared to be in great agony as you approached, to try the remedy as you walked in front, and to be wreathed in smiles at the relief obtained as you passed, the transformations being in one and the same picture. A cigar manufacturer advertised the virtues of his special brand by a succession of faces fashioned out of cocoanuts, in which the most ludicrous expressions of disgust at trials with other brands were shown in the first three, and a grateful satisfaction with the right brand in the last. The series were so comic that one recalled the faces with no small amusement. Humour is very much in demand to make advertisements attractive. Amusing sketches go with many, which make it a pleasure to look at them.

A great deal of ingenuity is exercised to devise appropriate names and formulae that will be remembered when once seen or heard. Usually they are obtained by competitions, in which substantial prizes are awarded. Among names, "Uneeda" and "IXL" will be recalled by many. There are also sentences, short and crisp, which strike home, such as,

“Worth a guinea a box” of Beecham’s Pills, ‘you will eventually buy’, ‘Britain’s Best’, or other familiar examples. The appeal of the picture of the dog listening to his master’s voice as a trade mark for gramophone records, will be universally recognised.

The advantages of advertising are so well realised that various interests may join in a common advertisement. The house-owners, the tradesmen, the hotel proprietors, and the municipality of a town may combine to improve and advertise the attractions of a town, and all gain by the resulting ingress of visitors and settlers. So may the superior attractions of a railway or steamer route be advertised in concert by the concerns that stand to gain by the larger number that may take the route. A tramway line in a town established an aquarium at its expense at one of its termini, to increase the number of passengers, and I was told that it was amply repaid for its venture.

The most reprehensible feature of advertisements is, however, that a large proportion of them are gross exaggerations or deliberate falsehoods. This is especially the case with the patent medicines of the United States, of which the number is legion. The scandal

reached such proportions that an agency was organised to test and report on many of them, and the volumes issued by it show how serious are the frauds committed. Similar agencies for testing other classes of goods are difficult to establish, and, if brought into existence, may succumb to influences brought to bear upon them, which may make them more harmful than useful. There is the more reason to think so because there are many instances of newspapers being persuaded to lend their influence in aid of articles or of ventures of fraudulent companies. Even in the absence of such temptation it is not to the interest of newspapers, dependent largely as they are on advertisements, to exercise discrimination in their acceptance. Nor would it be possible to do so in regard to a great number of them. I, however, came across an instance of a newspaper which was very rigorous in the selection of its advertisements. The standard of veracity is, however, very low as a rule, but there has been, I understand, considerable improvement in this respect of late years.

Whatever improvement may take place, advertisements will always tend to exceed actual facts, and their entry into other fields

than commerce and the professions is much to be deplored. But, then, there is no alternative in the competitive stage of society. In the intense self-absorption of life, men are not likely to look beneath bushels for light. Individuals, men and women, have to advertise their merits and capacities. There are far too many things to be classified and sorted, and the process goes on by the scrutiny of labels, rather than of contents. So, men are compelled to advertise their capacities and talents, and women, their charms. Manners have to be affected and poses assumed in correspondence with the labels by which one wishes to be known. Thus is developed an artificiality which does not correspond to truth. In so far as the make-believe is directed to the material advancement of the individual, and demands discipline and sustained effort, it is not open to serious objection. But the utter lack of the moral element condemns it as a method of progress.

IX

THE INDIVIDUAL

IN all societies, whether in the East or in the West, there is competition, more or less; but the intensity that has been reached depends on conditions engendered by custom, law and institutions. Where it has not progressed far, the unit of society may be the community, as was the case not many decades ago in India. In a still later stage, the family is the unit, as in China to-day. Where competition has progressed so far that family ties and affections become hindrances in the struggle, the limit becomes reduced to the ultimate component element of society, viz., the individual. It will have been noticed in previous chapters that the virtues engendered by competition in the West are the virtues of individual, and not family or communal, virtues. In other words, the features and character emphasised in the individual are features which help to preserve rather than to efface his identity, and which, therefore, make for individual integration and differentiation. The outlines, that were lost in a common matrix of the

family or community, are now clearly defined, and collective will and collective effort do not proceed any longer from instinctive impulse pervading the community, but from individual reasoning and choice.

To the self-interest that is thus cultivated, there is one limitation, the obligation to the State to which it is subordinated. The individual has so far detached himself and the family from the minor obligations to the community and the family, and is so dependent on the State for the facilities he requires of law and order, and for the enforcement of his rights, that he has a much greater stake in the State, in the preservation of its strength and vigour. From the divergence and conflict that there used to be between the governing authority and the individuals governed, there has been a marked progress to identity of interests, and the individual is prepared for self-sacrifice to the extent the consciousness of that identity has been developed. Apart from these larger obligations to the State, the individual may not be prepared for any sacrifice of self-interest.

For in the stress of competition, society is in perpetual flux. There are new changes

and developments, new requirements of habits, speed and efforts, new ways of adjusting dislocations, short cuts discovered to long routes, forces long suppressed newly come to surface to drive others under, subsidences and upheavals, new valuations set on old things. Society is thus a vortex of many forces in which the individual is too much concerned with his own safety to lend a helping hand to others. He cannot afford to be sensible of the sufferings of others till after the struggle is past, and a foothold secured from which he will not be dislodged easily.

The progress of individualism is observable in every direction. Self-respect and independence, so prominently associated with it, are conspicuous in conversation and conduct. The distinctive modes of address attaching to rank have been swept away for the most part. The haughty style of address and language used by the high conversing with the low, so common a vice with the higher castes in India, has been discarded, and terms indicative of superiority are avoided. The first person singular is much too obtrusive to an Easterner accustomed to expressions indicative of modesty

and humility. The "I" is to the fore in the West, thanking, hoping, believing, guessing, expecting, liking, admitting or agreeing, and doing a hundred other things. In giving advice to a friend, one tells rather what one would do under the circumstances than what the friend should do. In the form the advice is given, no superiority is assumed or indicated, and there is no offence if it is not followed. The lower orders are not expected to strike debasing attitudes to show their respect to rank and distinction. The hundred and one marks of respect intended to show one's own insignificance and the supreme importance of one's superior in office, in power or wealth are not to be seen at all. The tip of the West and the 'buksheesh' of the East are perhaps equal in amount, and classes that claim them are of the same order in society, but the tip is more expected than asked for, while the 'buksheesh' is too often procured by attitudes and appeals in which the last shred of self-respect has been laid aside. Even the beggars request more than beg. I remember a poor Italian hawker offering trinkets to me for sale on the steps leading to a church in Rome. I did not want any.

but the refusal appeared to cause so great a disappointment to the hawker, who had apparently very little business all the day long, that I gave him a 25 cent piece. He took it hesitatingly, turned it over and gazed at it doubtfully for some time, and then hastened to me and gave it back very courteously, apparently saying that he would rather do without it. I purchased a cameo for two liras and he was immensely satisfied. Beggars have approached me in England and in the States, but there was little in their aspect or manner to suit their condition.

A street sweeper, an old Dane, sought my acquaintance, and, strange to say, wanted me to speak to his grown-up daughter about religion, to wean her from church-going, in which he did not believe. I cultivated his acquaintance. I had an opportunity to see his wife and daughter as well. Although we met as friends, I should not have failed to detect any habit of subservience or lowliness in their ways. I was, on the other hand, impressed with their behaviour, which was not perhaps quite natural, but certainly involved no sacrifice of self-respect.

In the hospitality of the West, there is

far less of the self-effacement so natural in the East. A guest is made to feel at home by careful and scrupulous attention to all his personal comforts and convenience, and considerable thought is exercised to provide whatever is necessary or pleasing. But the host does not appear to do it at any serious sacrifice of his own comfort or convenience. He does not forego but shares. He continues to sit at the head of the table, where an Easterner would make it over to the guest. The best room, the best furniture are made over for the use of the guest in the East, where the inconvenience caused to the host is the measure of the hospitality given. In the West it would be looked upon as a serious sacrifice of individual self-respect.

As between friends, so between husband and wife. There is no surrender of individuality or self-effacement on either side. The wife is a distinct entity, not in subordination or subservience. Her wishes are respected and her opinion is taken. The integrity of the individual is the primary consideration, and it is maintained in all circumstances and conditions. The minor foibles, the little whims and fancies, those finer shades and finishing touches which

help to mark off one individual from another are humoured, tolerated or excused in others, even at the cost of some inconvenience. Nor is the individual less indulgent to himself in these little weaknesses. A peculiar style of dress, or a style of a collar or other articles of apparel, a trick in conversation or a peculiarity in style is as often instinctively adopted as deliberately assumed and cultivated to support and develop the sense of distinctive individuality. Even in children, curious habits or oddities of behaviour are corrected without doing violence to their growing self-respect, and what are not of serious moment are left rather to their growing intelligence to remove. They are seldom ordered but asked to do. I remember a mother taking what struck me as a very circuitous procedure to ask her son, of about 10 years, to fetch a mechanic, a few streets off, to set her car right which had broken down. She made the most distant suggestions at first, apparently seeing that the son was in no mood to go. She indicated her own inability, and the difficulty of getting help from others, and the impossibility of their leaving the car behind. So the boy was brought

to see the necessity of his going for the mechanic's help himself. Had the mother asked the boy straight away, he would not have dared to refuse, but the wise and patient mother thought of making him agree, rather than strain his obedience, the better plan.

It is in relation to his God that the individual in the West is of most absorbing interest. There is no desire or attempt on his part to assimilate with God, or to lose his individuality in Him. There is no ideal of ultimate absorption. The individual is, and wishes to remain, distinct and apart, and he obeys God rather because of His infinite power over him, and of the dread of punishment he may have to endure, and because he has been commanded to do so. Religion in the West, far from weakening the sense of individuality, emphasises it.

In an individuality so cultivated and maintained, there can be little of resilience. It has to stand the wear and tear of life, to adapt itself to changing environments, survive the shocks and collisions inevitable in the rush of life, to bend circumstances rather than be bent by them, and it cannot do it effectively if it changed with every change of

influence brought to bear on it. The contacts are more with individuals than with things, each, like himself, eager to advance and sweep everything before him rather than be swept off the feet. In the struggle, weakness of mind, of principle or of character would be a great handicap. The outline has to be definite and clear, and there are notice boards against trespass all round to warn against encroachment. The individuality has to be maintained not by preventing encroachments alone, but by safeguards against demoralisation. This is indeed a greater necessity. The individual is so much mixed up with the environment, is so continually taken up with its modification and advances so rapidly, that not much is required to upset the moral balance, and, once it is lost, there are not those large spiritual reserves, common in the East, on which the individual may draw to set him on his feet again. The individual is not mixed up with the world too much in the East to take defeat or success too seriously, but in the West everything is at stake for material progress, so that failure demoralises and debasement follows demoralisation. His attempt is proportioned to the energy he can command.

He fixes upon the limit of concession himself in a bargain, from which he does not usually recede. He has made full allowance for difficulties in the way of his work, and the possibility of defeat. He cultivates a detachment. When, in spite of these, defeat follows, it tends to demoralise.

ORGANISATION

ORGANISATION is one of the most important features of Western life. It is less striking, perhaps, than efficiency, hurry and competition, but these are rather the surface phenomena of organisation. It is difficult for a people who are for the most part rural to realise its full extent and character. I shall, therefore, try to distinguish it a little in detail from Hindu organisation. A people dwelling in a large number of self-sufficing villages appear to be certainly at a lower stage of evolution. But viewed from the stand-point of caste, Hindu organisation is certainly not that of a loose association of equal parts. Each caste was so differentiated, so exclusive in its functions, that the hierarchy had certainly a very complex inter-relationship. A caste on strike could bring the community to its knees, as a trade union does in these days, and there are castes to-day which could perform a similar feat. There is no doubt, therefore, that the organisation of Hindu society was nearly as complex as that of Western society. Yet there is a profound

difference between the two. The individuals in a caste are not like the members of a society or trade union. In caste, the union is for all time and for all purposes, hereditary, habitual, a union in sentiment, thought and feeling. In the other, it is for a specific purpose, strictly voluntary, strictly limited, and a union in action. In Hindu society, the union has not gone further down than the community or caste. In the West, it has gone much further, to the individual himself, and it has done so as already pointed out, because, of unrestricted competition, which compels every individual to regard his interests as separate from those of others. As between individuals in a caste, what is emphasised is the community of thought and feeling, while in the West what is emphasised is the exclusiveness of the interests of each. In a caste, concerted action is very easy, but only in the spheres which are appropriate to the caste concerned. In other spheres, however, no action on its part is called for. In the society of the West, the individual interests being differentiated, there can be union only for specific purposes. The individual has to retain his identity, for he may have different interests, and for the furtherance of each of

these, he may be a member of a distinct organisation. The more society resolves itself into the ultimate unit, the more will be the number of organisations, for there is greater variety and scope for enterprise, and, therefore, of interests, under individual freedom. The step is, therefore, long from that stage of primitive segmentation into a number of equal parts to the stage where no one part is like another in an elaborate complex of differentiated elements. The dovetailing is not of communities but of individuals. It is not a people cut up into a number of self-sufficing villages; but, as it were, a village grown to a people, with nearly the same closeness of contact and interdependence. With each improvement in the transport of men and things, and in the transmission of news, the range of interests, and, therefore, of organisation, has widened; until to-day national antagonisms alone are in the way of further extensions embracing the whole world.

No field of human activity in the West is left unorganised. Indeed parts of a whole cannot be organised leaving others unorganised, unless these latter are to be sacrificed for the former. Capital cannot organise without

labour organising itself in its turn. A party formed to further one group of interests must stimulate the formation of other parties to safeguard other groups of interests. Organisation has thus made for organisation, and grown on organisation, until the stage has been reached where all the varied interests of the community have organisations, and the interests of each individual are dominated by the organisation to which he belongs.

There are organisations for political parties, for capitalists, for labour; for societies of every description, scientific, religious and social; organisation for each profession and trade; for thieves, swindlers and anarchists; for each of the limitless variety of interests to be found among a people. In his religion the individual belongs to a union or association; in his recreation, to a club. He selects his grocer, his chemist, his doctor, banker, tailor, lawyer, and gives his custom, as a rule, exclusively to them. He is labelled, catalogued, indexed, and his life reduced to a few set formulae. In spite of his advance from communalism to individualism, the effect on the individual is the most serious drawback of organisation. Organisation can exist only for action. The sense of union of the members

constituting it is fostered and developed only in the field of common action, and action to be common must have a common governing impulse in the minds of the members, whether it is spontaneous or generated by will-power. The mind has to be attuned or adjusted, irrespective of individual inclinations and difficulties, to the same receptivity for the domination of a common impulse. It is like waters from many natural springs, prevented from fashioning their own little channels and beds according to the character and configuration of the surface where they gush out, but are led off by pipes to a place decided on, without reference to the natural flow, there to be taken when required. There is no wastage of time or water, but the grace, beauty and the music of the gentle flow of many tiny little streams uniting, mingling and passing along has been lost.

Organisation is soulless in character, and mechanical in action. It holds sentiment and feeling in strict subordination. It is dominated by intellect, and perfected by discipline. It grovels in statistics and averages, which it mistakes for truth. Intolerant of encroachment itself, it is a habitual trespasser. It recognises no principle, no formula but its own. It has

no large vision but a limited outlook. It is bent on its own advance, and will tolerate no advance elsewhere unless it furthers its own. And the individuals which constitute it are ground down to fit in exactly into the places assigned to them in the vast mechanism. Life is less a becoming and a blossoming, than a moulding and hardening. The individual has to cultivate his will rather than his understanding, his mind rather than his soul. These influences would not have tended to fashion and harden the individual to the set purposes and aims of organisations but for the rivalry and antagonisms among these. Organisations representing divergent or conflicting interests come into violent conflict when requirements of discipline and obedience are absolute. To avoid confusion and vain discussion, to do away with futilities of every description, each has to be thoroughly familiar with the part assigned to him and to be ready with it when the call comes, and qualms and questionings have to be suppressed. His own life has to be organised. His hours of attendance at his work and of his leisure are fixed for him, from which he may not depart. The rest of his time, though his own, has to be similarly appropriated to his various obligations and

responsibilities, as a member of societies and as a citizen. He exchanges visits, goes to church, attends to his home duties, and goes through his correspondence at specified hours. The hours of relaxation are also fixed. Life has thus become a routine of well-established habits.

The habit of mechanical action, which organisation demands, involves no small degree of dictatorship on the part of the leader. Leadership demands the highest qualities. Divergencies of views have to be reconciled, and formulae for action, acceptable to the majority, have to be devised and the loyalty of dissentients retained. The leader has to convince before he can dictate, and conviction is not easy when comprehension is low or disturbed by passion, prejudice or self-interest. It taxes human capacity to its utmost to get to the summit, often alone and unaided, and yet reach down to the valleys below to lend a helping hand to the following multitude. Something of the character of the processes that take place in the leaf swaying in the breeze and sunshine above, the products of whose activity go far down to the subterranean roots, there is in the leadership of the West.

While that is so, organisations are proving so unwieldy that they require dictatorship more than leadership. Judgment has to be taken quickly, and lines of action followed without the elaborate processes of consultation. But a mere outline of policy is all that the members can determine, the executive action—what involves so much more of discipline and individual effacement—is dictated by the leader, and requirements of smooth working are such that obedience is the first essential. Once the policy has been fixed, action follows, no matter how costly the effort required. I have been led to think on this line mostly from some of the features of the late War, in which the mechanical character of the organisation was, I cannot help thinking, responsible to no small extent for the enormous waste of human life. Time and again the cost involved in the sacrifice of lives did not receive the consideration it deserved when the strategies and the plans of campaign were decided upon, and I could not beat back the conviction that those who were to be sacrificed had been reduced to automata for any thought to be bestowed on their own view-point. What was true

of this gigantic organisation is true, only in a lesser degree, of other organisations. It does not go as far as the sacrifice of human lives, but human individuality is left weakened and maimed.

While the individual has had to sacrifice a great deal, his energy has been conserved and utilised to the best advantage for him by the organisations of which he is a member. The superior efficiency of organisation is incontestable. It accumulates and analyses experience, and secures the best brains for laying out the lines of action, and the best generalship for the furtherance of its objects.

But the most serious drawback, the more serious because of the efficiency, is that there is no large organisation to draw them together to preserve harmony, to reconcile differences and reduce conflicts. Organisations in the West have come into being conscious of subordination to no superior agency. The idea of self-preservation has been predominant, and there is nothing in their history or development to engender any larger outlook or vision, or to subordinate self-interest to the interests of the community. They have been brought into existence, far too often, in opposition

to one another, and their history is too full of records of bitter struggle. The State may serve the purpose, but, as will be pointed out later, its organisation in the West is such that it can take effective action only at the risk of principles which would give it altogether a different character from its present one. Nor has the necessity for a super-organisation been perceived sufficiently. In a few cases the State has interfered, and interfered successfully, in the conflicts of opposing organisations. But there has been yet no permanent institution or instrument devised under its sanction to give organisations defined limits of action in the nation which they may not exceed. Such a restriction is extremely difficult to enforce under ordinary law, and, if under extra-ordinary provisions, the State would soon revert to absolutism. The only solution seems to be for the State to turn socialistic. That would fuse all the present opposing organisations into one, the State itself. It would slow down to a more normal rate the present rapid pulsations of life. There would not be the same competition, the same velocity, efficiency, the same over-production; neither would there be any antagonisms, absorptions,

neglects, and inequalities which go along with those virtues.

Till that stage of political evolution is reached, organisations will increase in strength, multiply in number, and grow in mutual antagonism making society highly restive and unstable. In many a trade and profession, strikes are far more frequent than they used to be, and, more often than not, they end in a rise in wages, which handicaps successful competition and causes no small waste of national wealth during the days on which the industries remain idle. Such strikes are likely to increase in number than diminish as interdependence grows and organisations perfect their machinery and add to their resources. There are many factors co-operating to render Western societies socialistic.

XI WOMAN

THE progress of individualism cannot leave woman unaffected. No individualism is complete which leaves woman without a status of her own, dependent on no sufferance or indulgence, but on her own ability and capacities. In the struggle of life every little counts. She has to come out of the home to help herself, her husband or her parents. The woman who can so add to the family income is more useful than one who is ignorant of the world and restricts herself to the home. Even where she does not make any direct contribution to the family exchequer, as in the case of the richer classes, she may help indirectly by winning support, by her charms, to the cause or interests which her parent or husband has near at heart. Her influence may prove more decisive in the voting for her husband, which may secure for him advantages which he may not have obtained otherwise. Even in intellectual pursuits, her intelligent appreciation or sympathy may be of no small assistance in stimulating effort by

healthy criticism and by intelligent sympathy.

Woman was bound to progress with the progress of society to individualism, and once she started to move in that direction, she travelled faster than man did. Her position in the West has undergone considerable change. In ancient Greece and Rome she was an equal with her lord. With the advent of Christianity and the spread of the legend of her creation from a rib of man, and, what is worse, of the share she had in the downfall of man, the position of the woman changed for the worse. She was the temptress to be guarded against. The Roman Catholic monks were not only celibates but were supposed, in the old days, to avoid even the sight of woman, and it is on record that saints of the middle ages refused permission, even on their death-bed, to their sorrowing mothers who wanted to have a look at them before they passed away. The chivalry of the middle ages is, to my mind, an attempt to rescue woman from the degradation into which so monstrous an attitude had brought her during the dark ages of Europe. By means of wholesome reactions like these, and by the progress of society towards individualism,

she has attained to a position which is very much superior to that of her Eastern sister, but even so, vestiges remain of the old attitude. The assumption of the name of the husband is symbolic of the surrender of her individuality. Not many decades ago she could not even hold property in her own right, and, strange as it may seem, what she brought with her at the time of her marriage became the property of her husband. And even now she cannot contract debts of her own, independent of her husband.

The position of woman has improved, and remains at the high level it is to-day, not so much from the perception of the degradation, as is so often said, as from the operation of the forces of individualism. The higher cost and standard of living has necessitated the entry of the Western woman into the world. The woman who has to do so, whether in the East or in the West, enters into the calculations of man. So it is among many poor castes in India where the woman as well as the man has to work, where, therefore, she has as many privileges as he. Among the castes of dancing girls, where the earnings are almost wholly by the woman, the male is almost a dependant and has practically no

right whatever. The idea that education has made for the freedom of woman, is far from correct. What has made for education, as has been shown already, is the stress of competition, under which it was to the advantage of woman, as well as of man, to be trained to assist the other with both brain and muscle.

Women are now found practically in all walks of life. The few to which they had been denied access had to be thrown open during the War. They are now crowding into so many professions that grumbles on the part of men are heard against this increasing rivalry of women. They have been long in demand as nurses, shop assistants, telephone girls, typists and school teachers. They are now to be found in many other professions. They are now employed as tram conductors, police, detectives, factory-hands, barristers, judges, and they have entered the legislature. In most of these their representatives are still few, but as time progresses their number is likely to increase rather than diminish, and competition is bound to grow keener and keener. The greater physical strength of man gives him an advantage in but a few industries. In most of them the machine has tended to equalise men and

women, and the difference in physical strength does not count against her so much as it used to do.

This entry of woman into the trades and professions is not from choice but necessity. In too many cases the employment sought is in addition to the cares of the home, always exacting and heavy in themselves in all conscience. The work in the factory or in the office, lasting several hours, is of itself exhausting. More than one woman has declared to me that she considered Easterners more chivalrous in not allowing their women-folk to work. They little realised that chivalry has to give way, in the East as well as in the West, before the inexorable necessities of a competitive life. But one's heart goes out to the large class of women, burdened with children at home, who are subjected to the exhausting work of the factory and the office, who may not fail in the duties of the office without losing their appointment, and who, therefore, sacrifice or neglect the duties of the home.

Struggle intellectualises, and the stress and strains of life to which she is subject has tended to suppress the emotional and develop the intellectual side of woman's character.

Confined to the home and screened from the world, woman in the East is less exposed to temptation. If she is oblivious of the world, she is oblivious of its ugliness as well as its beauty, and, for all her seclusion, she has a rich field for the exercise of her emotions, not alone in her relations as wife and mother, but as sister, daughter, head of the household, mistress of servants, and as the giver of charity to numerous dependants and beggars. All that has been changed long ago for her Western sister. The exactions of modern life are such that she has chosen to remain single, or, if married, she tries to avoid maternity, and, even if the attempt has failed, has too many cares outside efficiently to discharge the duties inside the home. Her house is usually closed to her relations, however near, and she has no opportunity for the exercise of the sentiment of charity as the destitute are not allowed to beg. While the emotional side is thus suppressed, she is being intellectualised by her exposure to numerous temptations, by the extent and variety of her contacts with men and women, strangers and friends, and by the innumerable requirements of official work. She is faced with numerous temptations,

and public opinion, so weak and accommodating in regard to the lapses of man, is unforgiving and merciless where a woman is concerned. She thus ventures with less equipment into greater dangers. For her it was all home once, but now it is the home and the world. For man it was the world before and it is the world now.

Under this double strain she has had to intellectualise rapidly. She is far less influenced by emotion. She is more familiar with, and penetrates more successfully, temptation in all its forms and disguises. If she succumbs, it is oftener from inclination than from ignorance. Indeed many a woman has all the art of the dancing girl without her profession, for she is so completely the mistress of her inclinations and passions as to stimulate and excite them in others without ever intending to satisfy them. The greater knowledge of man, and the greater control she has, enable her to show herself to the best advantage without necessarily having any questionable motive beyond the advancement of her interests or the worship of others. The Easterner, unaccustomed to the display, often ostentatious, of physical charms, is seriously misled

into a wrong judgment. I have come across many an instance of young men, newly arrived in England, misjudging women from behaviour which, I had no doubt, proceeded from no bad motive. There could be no more grievous mistake. Not that any wish of theirs was father to the thought. They rather proceeded from the assumption that morality is at a low level. They are right so far, that a greater number of women fall a prey to temptation in the West. That does not necessarily imply a higher morality on the part of the Eastern women. After all morality screened from temptation may not survive when the test comes, and there are chances of concealment of a lapse behind the Purdah and the latticed screen. And in the West if the facilities are greater in preventives and nursing homes, the fierce publicity that follows a scandal is a most powerful deterrent. I am not suggesting that morality is on a higher or a lower level in the West. All that I desire to point out is that the basis of judgment sought by the Easterner in the universal advertisement of feminine charms, is altogether wrong.

Women are compelled to cultivate and show off their charms to further their

interests in the struggle. Beauty is joy, and the need of beauty in women is very much greater in the stress of modern life. The softness and graceful inflexions of her voice, the charms of her face, form and demeanour call and enthral. Appeals from her strike home with greater effect. In her presence rough exteriors are softened. Service by her or for her pleases. In her company one is apt to forget one's own cares and anxieties. Her words soothe and comfort. In her company the intense vibration of the mind, occasioned by work done under high pressure, tends to pass off, and balance and equipoise are restored.

It is small wonder, then, that she is very much in request in modern life to help in the relaxations, without which modern life is well nigh insupportable. One hopes the service is mutual. She has compensations for the enormous service she renders. Her company is sought in a week-end or at the theatre. She adds enormously to the good cheer and liveliness of a party. The staid man welcomes her many moods. Each has its charms, and a succession of them makes a pleasing variety. It may be the arch of her neck, the blushes suffusing her cheeks, the rings of her laughter, or eyes welling up in tears, or her banter—

each helps to attract, to charm, and to retain man, a worshipper.

I was once called away from an elaborate banquet by a couple of friends who had an invitation to a dinner elsewhere as well, and who, having put in an appearance at the banquet, wanted to keep the other engagement. When the dinner was over the hostess changed her dress to a loose flowing garment, and gave us a few dances in the light of a shaded electric lamp. Throughout that enchantment, which lasted for only a brief half hour, there was no false note, nothing suggestive of the base in the dance or music which could be misconstrued by the most violent stretch of imagination. In the dim light her tall majestic form, in flowing robes of vermillion, swayed with the emotion she was portraying, and we were lifted off into a world of inexpressible beauty. On my way back home in the chill night, her soft accents still vibrating in my ears and her form swaying before my mind's eye, I realised how much of innocent enjoyment the Easterners miss in their attempts to screen off women from the temptations of the world. The art of the dancing girl and the geisha, for all its artistic display of human emotions by the beauty of

voice and form, lacks the irresistible appeal of an untainted heart.

Having said so much in praise, I should not fail to depict the darker side of the picture. Woman has become conscious of her charms in far too great a degree, and with that consciousness has departed the modesty which is the best of graces in a woman. Whatever an Eastern woman lacks in physical charm, she makes up by a most becoming modesty, and one cannot help regretting, amidst so much to admire, that there is also much to deplore. Most of the college girls appear to behave and talk in the same way as the boys. The gait of most women is far from graceful, which is in part due to the ridiculous foot-wear and partly due to haste. There is little grace in their movements, which are far too brisk, nor is the habit of paying meticulous attention to details of personal appearance, so much of it artificial, calculated to preserve modesty.

The creation of charms for the advancement of one's interest is to be expected where reward is so great and opportunity for their appreciation is widened far beyond the circle of their home. The reward of feminine beauty is no longer the adoration of the

husband alone but the worship of the multitude as well. . . . Wherever she is, whether in the ball room, or on the dancing floor, in the street, or in the tram car or train, she draws to herself a crowd of admiring men, eager to bask in the sunshine of her presence. And the worship of men is the most pleasing thing to a woman in this life. It is not to be wondered at that she is careful not only to cultivate and use what charm she has, but also to resort to the artifices of the beauty specialist to add to them, by these means to secure the best husband or draw and retain the allegiance of a host of admirers. Often the unscrupulousness goes much too far. At the better class Universities, selected by the sons of rich men, women seek admission in large numbers not so much for a degree as for a husband, and it is a sore trial to many a young man to keep himself out of their meshes. Women students of this type spend considerable sums of money on their dress, which may cost as much as 800 to 1000 dollars a year. Besides the usual costumes for each season, which are two in number, there are dresses made for special occasions such as dinners and dances. With these and other aids, they throw themselves on the young

men they have set their heart on. Chivalry as well as courtesy forbids these youths, usually belonging to high class families, from any rapid retreat, and the fire of youth too often makes short work of the defences put up. A young man advised to marry only after graduation is reported to have replied that that was his intention, "if only the girls will let me."

The girls are not much to blame either. There is no other reasonable alternative in a system which throws the responsibility of finding a husband on the girl herself. She has grown, perhaps, to an age where she finds she is a burden to her parents, and she is, perhaps, disinclined to enter a profession. Reserve and modesty will not help in the quest of a husband in a field where there are many like herself engaged in the same pursuit; and where success is for those who can show themselves to the best advantage, scruples have to be cast to the winds. Where the reward comes in the shape of a respectable young man of means bound as partner, parents do not stop to enquire; on the other hand they are full of praise for the daughter who has made good.

The employment of charms, genuine and

artificial, to secure what is the main thing in life, is reasonable under these circumstances. But there are no such circumstances in extenuation of the vamps, of whom there are many in the West, who employ their charms to victimise men. At the University, I was told, they fasten themselves upon young men who find themselves, under the obligations of courtesy, unable to avoid or escape from them, and after sucking them dry they drop them for others to repeat the same shameless process. The surrender on the part of the young man may not always be free from blame. Nor does the woman usually sacrifice her honour. In full-blooded youth temptations need not be strong to lead young men away from the path of rectitude, but many surrender from inability to be discourteous or offensive. It is difficult, for instance, not to ask a girl to lunch when she accompanies you as far as the door of the restaurant, or not to pay for her when she says she has forgotten to take her purse. What takes place in the University happens, I am told, in the world outside where the same prostitution of charms, though not of person, is carried on with all the confidence of a cultivated art.

These consequences are inevitable.

Scruples must give way before the requirements of success. Are not there men who use their personal charms to win over women to ruin and disgrace, who have but passion as an excuse? Woman, at any rate, does not go that far, and for that lesser offence has a better excuse in the vicious system fixed for her, not by her, which compels her to use her charms and attractions to her personal advantage. In her case the consequences are more serious, for, woman tainted, the source is tainted, and children catch infection from the mother sooner than from the father. A departure from correct standards on her part has a wider consequence, but for woman it is a necessity and not a choice.

The increasing necessity for her companionship has enabled woman to win a commanding position in social and national life. In many countries she serves on the jury on commissions, and on municipal councils. She has the vote in a few, and has been admitted into parliament. The disqualifications are being gradually removed, and she is fast rising to a position of equality in important spheres of national life, which is in keeping with her eminence in society. Her entry into political and national affairs

means her withdrawal from the home to that extent, and hence it has been disapproved of in many a quarter. But she cannot afford to neglect politics. A large number of women are now engaged in the factory and in various other fields. They suffer more from the consequences of sweating. In the slums they are the worst sufferers. The need for representing their interests in the councils of the nation is, therefore, greater than in the case of men in similar conditions, and women are best represented by women who can probe deeper into the depths of wretchedness and infamy to which many women sink. Welcomed or compelled to enter all those walks of life where their weaker frames may be affected more seriously by the demands of life, women are entitled, by that very circumstance, to a place in politics. Forces cannot be converged to one point to be repelled from that point. The integration and differentiation of the ultimate elements which compose society, must necessarily tend to put man and woman on a footing of equality in disregard of the differences involved in sex. How far it should be allowed to proceed and where it should stop, are difficult to determine, once the limits

imposed by sex are ignored. The forces gather from many directions, and the final impact is too great for effective resistance. Either individualism should be stopped at the point of unsexing woman, or womanliness sacrificed to individualism. There appears to be no middle course.

HOME

THE forces of individualism affecting both man and woman alike, the home has changed its character. It is no longer a refuge. The echoes of the strife, the rumblings and noise are heard inside, and husband and wife take counsel together in regard to the trials and disappointments of life, and derive mutual comfort and solace. It is not as of old, and as it still is in the East, when the wife was unable to comprehend the difficulties of the husband from her ignorance, or pre-occupation in domestic duties, and when the home was too sacred for profanation by the intrusion of worldly affairs tainted with selfishness, greed, and still baser human passions. The purity of its atmosphere and quiet has had to be sacrificed. It is no longer a place for man to measure up to the standard of purity, duty, and spirituality to which the wife could attain in the isolation of her home. Home was then a creator and not the creature of the world.

The relations of husband and wife approximate to those of friends who have agreed

to live together. There is no effacement or self-surrender on either side; if there is, it is as often on the side of the husband as on the side of the wife. During the many occasions they met before marriage, they had come to the conclusion that they would suit each other, and so entered into the partnership. Not in all countries in the West has marriage reached this level. Among the Latins and the Slavs, marriage is still arranged by the parents, although the inclinations of the girl are not ignored. This is an indication that these peoples have not progressed far to the competitive stage of society. It is among the Anglo-Saxons that the ideal of partnership has been reached, and among these the Americans more than others, and individualism has progressed furthest among them.

In England and America the husband and wife are more or less on the same level. In the East they follow a different plan. For all the impression to the contrary, the husband is on a lower moral plane. The wife surrenders her individuality only to get it back from the husband strengthened and better defined. Her sacrifices tend to soften and spiritualise the man. She starts with more devotion than love. Love grows later,

not on the insecure foundations of the passions and excited romance of youth, but in the far more fertile bed of affections reciprocated, and sacrifices cheerfully borne.

All that has become changed in the West. Choice there is influenced by the imaginings and illusions of courtship, seldom realised in actual life. It is one of the paradoxes of Western life that the one event in the life of man which may make or mar his fortunes, on which cold calculation and thought are most necessary, is precisely the one where decision is apt to be influenced by the passions and inclinations of the moment, and less by the permanent requirements of life. By entrusting it to the mature wisdom of the parents, these serious disadvantages would have been avoided as in the East. But that would be against the growing spirit of individualism. Besides, intellectualism is growing under the stress of competition. Youths are less subject to the influences of passion. Nor is romance without its value. In a world so much determined by circumstance and condition, where the mind is tied down to the dull mechanical routine of everyday life, romance helps to visions of a better life and noble determinations. The

West lacks vision. Life is too headlong and full of cross currents and eddies for it to wander far from the immediate necessities of the moment. There is little leisure, little of those deep silences that put tongue into things which are mute. When all this is impossible, the visions, which romance brings, of the eternal beauty and music of life, help to carry the slender craft into port.

But romance is possible only to the fortunate few. For the many, courtship is little more than a formality, and marriage a convenience. For such there is little love at first, but with time and contact the angularities wear out, and the relations may come to mean something more than a perception of the advantages of mutual helpfulness. For a large number, increasingly large most unfortunately, these adjustments are found impossible from incompatibilities of temperament and habit, from temptation or the absence of the softening, restraining influences of children. The conditions make adjustment difficult. The Hindu ideal of marriage as a union eternal, which once entered into cannot be dissolved away, makes it obligatory on both to make the best of a bad bargain in the event of incompatibility. There is no

romancing to make disappointments insupportable, and the appearance of children on the scene, for which both husband and wife long, creates a common bond of interest. These conditions do not exist or are fast disappearing in the West. Facilities for divorce are being afforded in an increasing measure, and, where sufficient grounds cannot be found in law, husband and wife may conspire to manufacture evidence acceptable to a court to enable them to separate. In one instance which came to my notice, a woman had eighteen divorces in three years. Nor are children welcome in many a household. The population in several countries in Europe is tending to be stationary, and it has been attributed to birth control. It has been estimated that 500 children a week are lost to the English nation in London alone. This state of affairs would not have been so deplorable if the practice prevailed among classes who have to bring up their children in the brutalising conditions of the slums, where their entry would only add to the misery of the parents and they would have to share all their privations. Unfortunately, however, the classes concerned are the classes who could furnish the best stock to replenish

the population, and, what is far worse, they do it from no high notions of enlightened self-abnegation, but rather because they are not content with their standard of living, already at a level sufficient to satisfy all reasonable requirements. The tendency, if not suppressed, may, therefore, spell disaster to the nation in the ultimate preponderance in society of precisely these degraded elements, with the mental and physical disfigurements transmitted through a succession of generations in an under-world of poverty and crime.

Whether or not the better classes of the population will wake up to their sense of responsibility for the future of the nation, remains to be seen. But the absence of children is contributing to the disintegration of the home. I have referred already to the necessity which compels women to seek employment. To such the duties of the home are irksome. They cannot find the time or the inclination to do the cooking and washing. The couple agree to take their meals at a restaurant, and, when the day's work is over, spend the evening at a theatre or a show. They are back home only to sleep. There is not much of a home where one turns in

only for the night, and, that too, when the night is far spent. Perceiving the irksome nature of the work, manufacturers have simplified the task by inventions of various kinds. There are machines for washing, knitting, sweeping, cooking, which make the work far less burdensome. There are usually telephones in the house, and any requirement from the grocer and the shop may be obtained by means of it. Milk is supplied by motor, and clothes may be washed and delivered at the door. These improvements have helped many to keep house, but their time of stay in the home each day has not been sufficiently lengthened to invest home with the associations necessary to make it attractive.

Where there are children, a great many of these drawbacks disappear. Children are brought up on correct lines. There are not many restrictions on the exercise of limb and muscle imposed by the over-anxiety of parents as in the East. A large field is allowed for learning by experience. Repression is judiciously practised, and, as far as possible, not at the expense of self-respect. They are disciplined rather than compelled. Punishments are regulated more by the

character of the offence than by the temper of the parents. They are won over by persuasion rather than influenced by threat. They have usually a room set apart for them in the house, and are not allowed to wander about until after a certain age.

One of the most surprising things in the training of children is the rule that children of one class may not associate with those of a lower class. They are, of course, not allowed to speak to grown-up strangers indiscriminately. This is not open to objection. But that they should so early have the idea of class drilled into them, is one of the paradoxes as puzzling to us as the paradox that children of different castes and creeds in this caste-ridden country may play and associate together without the least objection. In any village, Brahmin and Sudra, Mahomedan and Christian children, not all of the same social level, but rich and poor alike, may play together. It is difficult to explain the striking difference. But I cannot help thinking that this intermixture is allowed because caste fixes manners and habits too strongly to be over-powered by temporary associations of whatever character, and that in societies where tradition and inheritance

do not reinforce one another the danger is far greater, and class exclusiveness has to begin early in life.

The home and its surroundings are well kept and clean. Each article is usually in its place, and if there is a garden in front much attention and care is bestowed on it. I was invited by a poor labourer to his cottage and was much struck with the neatness of the articles and furniture inside. The man himself was dirty, but his wife and daughters were quite clean and neat in their simple clothing. There were a few pictures on the wall, though not particularly good ones. The income of a poor labourer is far in excess of that of the Indian labourer, but certainly the houses of the latter may be kept much cleaner than they usually are, and I cannot help saying that the houses of many better class Indians are not as well kept as they might be.

The truth of the matter is that life is more open in tropical countries than in the West, where the inclemencies of weather compel a stay in-doors for prolonged periods, and where, therefore, the surroundings have to be rendered more beautiful and orderly than where the shelter sought does not usually extend to more than a few hours at a

stretch. Nor should it be forgotten that the Westerner is in closer contact with the environment whose influence on him is, therefore, greater. The Indian is far too abstracted and absorbed in himself to be subject to the reflex effects of environment on his temper. Where nerve and muscle have been on the rack, the need for order, harmony and beauty of surroundings is far greater during periods of relaxation. The influence of city life is in the same direction. When life is so largely rural, as in India, man is still in close contact with nature with its open spaces, the expanse of land and water and sky. In a town, man is cut off from these delights to the eye and the ear. The music of birds is not for him, nor the rustle of leaves. The riot of colours as the sun rises and sets is not for him. The walls close round him as those of a prison, and he hears the roar of the engine and the crash of machinery. It is small wonder if he hungers for re-union with nature, and, when that is not possible, he has to rest content with make-shifts and make-believes. So he likes to have a small garden attached to his house or a few flower pots, where he may grow a few favourites whose natural colours and

graceful outlines may in some measure neutralise the effect of outrageous paints and varnishes and the maddening insistence of straight lines. The most beautiful flowers I ever saw were a few, faded ones in a newly painted gun-boat. Hence arises the need for beauty in and about the home, which is so conspicuous in the West. The love of country of one who has refused to leave it in spite of prospects abroad is not so conspicuous nor is it felt, perhaps, so keenly as that of the man who, having left, is on his way back. So it is, at any rate, with the love of beauty which is manifested so much in the West, because it has had to cut itself off from constant communion with nature owing to climate as well as urban life. Perhaps also there is a cause, as well, in the greater variety of landscape and the more striking seasonal effects of nature. There is no variety of colour in the tropics. It is one continuous green as far as the eye can reach, with little variation in tint. It is not so in the West, where differences of colour in the landscape are very frequent and pleasing. And none can fail to note the greater contrast of the seasons, for example, a severe winter, bare of leaf, followed by a spring when the trees

burst into blossoms. There is variety and contrast in nature both in time and place in the West, which cannot fail to instil in man the sense of nature's beauty.

The attractions of the home are increased by frequent 'at homes' and entertainments. Such parties are usually given in the interests of social advancement, which as often precedes as follows official advancement. The wife who is successful as a hostess is a valuable asset in the struggle for life. It may strike as odd to the Easterner that not all neighbours may be invited to these parties. As a matter of fact there is no neighbourhood in the West. Invitations go rather by class. Usually families are not settled long enough in one place for the reciprocal relations of obligation and service to grow up. In the East rejoicings in which neighbours, of whatever class, do not share are unthinkable even now, and neighbours of different castes and communities will be invited to share in them so far as caste restrictions allow. But the relations become impossible when friendships grow less from proximity than from choice, inclination and self-interest. Intellectualisation is here again.

The pressure of competition is too much to allow for the thought of the morrow. The

tendency is to live up to standards which are not of the class to which one belongs but rather of the class next above. Both the husband and the wife have to advance in their profession, and advancement is helped as much by ability as by social success. Prominence in their own class, socially or otherwise, is a step to the next higher class, and prominence results from a charming wife and an open house. A great number are thus compelled to live often beyond their means, and where there are no children there is less inducement to save. When there are no untoward incidents to upset calculations, the reward is certain, and advancement usually sufficient to make up for the risks that have been taken. But when, as often is the case, plans go wrong or cannot be carried out, the family suffers a set-back against which there is no provision. Not all can come to prominence in any walk of life. A few must always be at the tail-end, and conditions might be less hard to endure were skill the sole criterion and social success of no account. But in competitive society every circumstance counts in the final result. Time is too short for absolute accuracy or fairness of judgment. The universal impulse towards advancement,

however, makes for a higher standard of efficiency.

The integrity of the home is being threatened from many directions. The conveniences special to it are being successfully duplicated by the hotel and the restaurant and the nursing home. The attraction of the home is but one among the many attractions of the theatres, of pleasure resorts and of travel, and, as for the relation between husband and wife, and of both to children, too much of worldly calculation has entered into them to invest them with any sacredness. The day may be far off yet when children are brought up in public nurseries and parents live in hotels, but forces are unmistakably tending in that direction. The home that is now tottering to its fall will then have been finally swept away and no vestiges left.

XIII

ART

THE interpretation of the art of a foreign people is by no means an easy task even for an artist. There is so much of convention which it is difficult to penetrate, and there are so many associations that cluster round which are unfamiliar ; and the share of these in the total result the foreigner is likely to miss or incorrectly estimate. He may not perceive the need felt or experienced by a people, of which their art is but the outward expression. The ultimate test of art, however, is beauty, which is universal in its appeal, and if particular forms in which beauty is enshrined are unfamiliar or do not appeal, the fault is, as India has always insisted, not so much in the art, which has clothed itself in that garb, as in the individual who judges. While, therefore, there is no universal standard in art, the directions it takes, and the forms it assumes, afford a correct indication of the character and tendencies of the people cultivating it.

Nowhere is the difficulty of correct interpretation so great as in the field of music, so

often described as the universal language. The best of Western music leaves many an Easterner cold, and the Westerner describes the music of the East as a melancholy wail. The difficulty is mutual, and goes deep into differences of language, temperament, and spiritual needs. The clear accents of Western languages offer a field for delicacy and modulation suited to every shade and variety of emotions, which languages of the East, more smooth and even, can produce only by artificial aids. In these latter, the emotion marches along too fast unobstructed by the accent, and resort must be had to other devices, as the *gamak*, to produce minor variations and touches. The main theme has to be worked up by a number of accessory, subordinate, or minor themes until the climax is reached. The descent is often too easy, and the momentum carries the singer beyond the words of the song, far into an *alapana*, or tailing off. In the accented languages of the West, the accent and the variations in stress meet all the requirements of expression, and the subsidiary emotions need not be rendered one after another. The descent is often too hard for the softness required, and there is hardly an extension beyond the song. In Italian, in

which the accent is not so conspicuous, the tendency is, however, noticed.

The facilities which accent affords make for quality. In its absence music is quantitative.

It is obvious that in regard to emotions which reach their climax and descent soon, or where the syllables have to be liquid and smooth, the advantage is clearly on the side of the unaccented language. Where, however, the song reveals rather a state of mind than the emotion itself, the accented languages of the West are more appropriate. Indeed, what Western music strives to produce is rather the state of mind appropriate to the emotion, whereas in the East the emotion itself is the main consideration. This difference arises because accent is less accommodating to the free flow of emotion, which cannot be perceived but has to be measured by the extent and the mode by which the obstacles are overcome. In the West, therefore, the emotion is more the result, and in the East more the cause, of music. In the East music is more a release of feeling, an unburdening, and audiences are worked up to the emotion directly rather than through sympathy with the performer.

The difference in regard to accent has

other interesting consequences. Where there is accent, the voice has to jump along, as it were, from boulder to boulder, but in its absence it moves along a course which may be very tortuous. Instruments, therefore, successfully reproduce the music of the West, but not of the East where the graces and inflexions are too delicate and fine for successful imitation. Human voice, still the criterion in the East, takes a back seat in the West where the instruments are quite adequate for satisfactory rendering. Apart from this, the development of instrumental music was bound to follow in any scheme which worked up to a state of mind which produced the emotion rather than to the emotion itself which is the result. The mental state may be produced by developing the appropriate associations. The falling of leaves, the whispers of the gentle breeze, the song of birds, these and other moods of nature appropriate to the emotion, if imitated, would produce, by association, the mental state required, and that can only be done by concerted music in which there are a number of instruments to add variety and range to expression.

Therein lies the root-cause of the

differentiation of Eastern music as melodic and Western music as harmonic. The major divisions of musical notes employed in the West enabled a number of instruments to be played together, and they could not be played so without developing harmony. The variety of instruments are made for contrasts, for light and shade, if one may so put it, and for atmosphere. In the East, on the other hand, the human voice could not be successfully reproduced by instruments which, therefore, could not supersede it, and the progress in the direction of harmony, or the developments under its influence, could not take place. To the Easterner, accustomed to the elaboration of the primary emotion with its minor variations, the variety and wealth of form in which Western music is presented causes confusion if not disgust. He can understand the song of the lark, the rustle of the leaves, or the rush of the brook, each by itself, but the whole coming together, he is overwhelmed and bewildered rather than pleased.

The divergent developments are the result of different needs and requirements. The Easterner does not need to be worked up into the right mood by artifices of harmony and association. He is more emotional and

can enter into the spirit of the song without these intellectual aids. The Westerner, on the other hand, dwells too much in the mind, and is not so readily receptive to emotion, nor can he switch off readily from one emotion to another. He is far too absorbed in the world to be able to take easy or rapid emotional flights but, like the balloon, is capable of them when released from his moorings.

It is possible, though for me with very great difficulty, to reduce to the same fundamental needs and tendencies the other arts of the West. It would take me too far. Nor do I think it necessary. I would rather refer to other features of the West which are perhaps more easily deduced from architecture and its sister arts. The intellectual appeal of most of the buildings with architectural pretensions in the West, is recognised on all hands. The sense of discipline, of the due subordination of detail to the main theme, which is essentially of the intellect, has not been given the same recognition in India. An Indian, familiar with the over-elaboration of detail in Hindu architecture, cannot fail to note this feature and give it its due recognition. In none of the famous

cathedrals, in Rome, Milan, Paris, or London, did I find ornamentation carried to a point past satiation. Viewed from the outside, most of these failed to impress by their size, because of the proximity of buildings as large or larger. But portions of them, such as the magnificent towers reaching up to the skies, the thousand spires of the Milan Cathedral, or the magnificent domes of St. Peter's and St. Paul's, pleased and enthralled by the contrasts of the square blocks of the bare and even terraces of the neighbouring buildings. The magnificent proportions of St. Peter's do not impress the visitor as he views them from the front. There are too many buildings of large size in the neighbourhood, and the massive columns on either side of the approach are on the same scale, and it seemed to me deliberately designed to mask the size further. As one entered the cathedral, however, the impression, so carefully kept back, overwhelmed and overpowered one as the eye, which so easily took in the whole structure from the outside, found itself almost unable to scale up the heights along pillars and arches and walls to the dome. The worshippers and visitors appeared diminished by the distance. The sense of the majesty of

God and the insignificance of man, so necessary to western mentality, was brought home to one with striking effect, nor marred by elaborate ornamentation. Every device and resource of decoration tended rather to support and accentuate the impression. That is more or less the impression that I gained from every other cathedral I visited. Notre Dame at Paris is perhaps an exception, but it is essentially feminine, and appropriately so.

It need hardly be pointed out that the feelings that one gains inside of a Hindu temple are very different. Viewed from the outside, Hindu temples as those of Bhuvaneswar and of South India impress the spectator by their size; but once inside, the sense of vastness is too often lost by the shortness of pillars and by the profusion of decorative details. Indian temples are too small, and their ornamentation too profuse, to engender the sense of the majesty of God or the insignificance of man. The sense of majesty, which implies distance and formality, would be insupportable to the Hindu seeking rather union and assimilation. The Westerner, who wants to preserve his individuality, is prepared for obedience rather than surrender. The correction required is rather to his idea

of self-importance. Hence the discipline, magnificence and majesty.

Outside the churches few buildings impressed me. The Houses of Parliament, the Palace at Versailles, and the Capital at Washington come to my mind as I write. Of these the last appeared to me the best in design. There is a quiet dignity and repose in its dome, which is in striking contrast with the feverish American life surrounding it, but along with it there was an impression of purity and lack of strength that appeared to me almost feminine. To the other two mentioned the situation lends a great deal of beauty, especially to the Palace at Versailles the monotony of whose enormous facade was to some extent relieved by the striking beauty of the fountains and the gardens. The interior, far more than the exterior, is of surpassing beauty. The halls, colonnades and stair-ways are magnificent in proportion and harmonious in decoration which was nowhere in excess.

In the more exacting weather conditions of the West life is spent more in the interior, and the greater beauty of the interior is appropriate. To the design and disposition of the exterior there is less inducement, and

there exist serious limitations. Towns were seldom built in the West to suit the fancy of kings at their bidding. They grew up there from small settlements into towns to meet the demands of trade and commerce. The situations were selected for facilities of manufacture and commerce, and not with an eye for beauty. Serious limitations are thus imposed on the architect who has to make the best he can of inappropriate localities, and structures and surroundings that refuse to blend. Beauty never forgives a slight. Once neglected or forgotten or superseded, the most penitent appeal will not bring her back, and the founder of few towns in the West had thought of her. She is the first in the thoughts when the Eastern king selects his site for his capital, or the religious enthusiast a place for his temple, and she never deserts it even when the profanities and desecrations of later ages render her stay well nigh insupportable.

In sculpture and painting the artist has less of the limitations which are found in architecture or music. In these spheres Western art should lend itself to a more facile interpretation. I have gone over the vast collections of statuary in the museums

at Naples, Rome, London and Paris, and I regret to have to say that I was rather disappointed. Human emotion and passion have been rendered to perfection. Beauty of form there was in abundance, rendered to perfection. No human effort could exceed the high level reached in Rome and Greece twenty centuries ago. The most natural attitudes have been faithfully reproduced in every detail however minute. No twist or turn or swell of a muscle, however small, has escaped unnoticed. The right moment has been chosen, and the correct grouping. The degree of faithfulness thus reached has to be seen to be fully realised. The bronze in the Naples museum representing the drunken waiter, unsteady on his feet and half-conscious, is indescribably perfect, and yet I missed in almost every one the consummation of human portrayal, the indication of a higher feeling that warmed up the dull cold marble or bronze. The expression is more of attitude than of face. Even among the statues of philosophers I found not one bowed in thought. An old woman among the figures in Naples appeared absorbed in thought. The rest of the Caesars, philosophers, the athletes, the gods and goddesses impressed me with their

magnificent proportions of limb and muscle and form, but did not lift me beyond to the regions of the intangible where perfections and refinements are of the spirit and the soul, and which art alone can help man to visualise.

The tangible is by no means to be despised just because it is tangible. The perfection of limb and form is desirable, but more as a means to an end. The old Greek or Roman, as the modern Westerner to-day, was of the world worldly, and the perfections he sought were of the world in which he was absorbed. He had no striving after the spirit above and beyond the requirements of the world. Perfections of the limb and muscle were for triumphs in this world, which counted with him so much. They will render possible the perfect expression of the emotion or passion which calls them forth to action. Whenever I feel inclined to criticise in this strain the statue of Venus de Milo appears before my mind's eye to administer a rebuke, and I shrink abashed. Whatever the limitations of Western art, that statue is a justification of it for all time. No reproduction does it justice. As I saw its manifold perfections, almost ethereal, which, nevertheless, visibly emanated from the dull cold

marble, there was produced in me an enchanted stupefaction. Criticism fled from its presence, and it was long before the spell ceased.

The poverty of, spiritual satisfaction in Western art, though not a matter for serious criticism, is a distinctive feature, and nowhere is it more striking than in the pictures of Christ. I have seen scores of them, many from the world's greatest artists, but in not one did I find any godliness, except the conventional aureola. I could not help recalling the spiritual composure of the Buddha, in the attractiveness of which the imperfect or even ugly delineations of the physical frame are forgotten, and the divine enlightenment of Avalokiteswari, which gives so much divinity to grace and beauty so human. The Christ of Western artists is the creation of God by man in his own image. Here is manifest a shortcoming which Western art has yet to overcome.

In the portrayal of animals there is another shortcoming equally great, in which the Eastern artist has an incontestable superiority. The rendering of animals, even the most familiar to them, is done with little effect and feeling. As usual there is faithful

reproduction of the form in every detail, but nothing above and beyond. The appeal of the monkey and the elephant in an Indian sculpture or frieze is straight to the kindly and humane disposition of the spectator, and there is stimulated a sympathetic interest and understanding almost as though they were pet animals. The lions and wolves of Western artists are best at their worst. In the portrayal of passion they are successful, in the portrayal of feeling they fail. I cannot help recalling in this connection the lions at the foot of Nelson's column—enormous reproductions in bronze, true to every detail of form and muscle. The very size should help in the impression of dignity natural to the king of beasts, but the expression which the artist has sought to give is fatal to that sense of majesty. The alertness appeared to me as that of a dog.

The failure of Western art to rise to those subtler regions is due to a false realism. In trying to reproduce nature by imitating her in detail the artist fails to see the forest on account of the trees. There is no truth in imitation however perfect. The artist's vocation is with human feeling, to renew through his art that which he himself has

experienced. In bestowing so much attention to detail he has started at the wrong end. The Eastern artist, who concentrates on the idea or the feeling itself, and seeks little or no aid from a model, is after all at the only safe anchorage. He is wrong in detail, woefully wrong perhaps, but never misses the essential, and it is there in such full measure that the inaccuracy of detail is never noticed, and, if noticed, is forgiven. To the Westerner's mind, so deeply rooted in the concrete, any departure from correctness of detail may do too great a violence to any feeling which the picture is intended to produce, and he may turn away in disgust. He judges a building from the portico.

That art is something more than copy is gradually dawning on Western consciousness. As long as imitation fell short of reality the whole energy was directed towards more successful reproduction. But the technique has been so perfected that what was once considered impossible has been achieved. Still they find the most perfect imitation lacking something vital. And with that perception has come into being a movement, feeble, yet one which is distinctly towards idealism. In these, as

in many other directions, the exploration has begun in earnest as shortcomings are being discovered, but the promised land has not been sighted. But they are more kindly to the art of the East, long ridiculed and despised. That is some consolation to the East for the East may yet come into her own.

HUMOUR

THE extraordinary development of humour is one of the interesting features of the West, which distinguish it from the East where humour is much less in evidence, and is not cultivated as an art or followed as a profession. It would be interesting to enquire into the causes of this divergence. Humour is certainly appreciated as much in the East as in the West. The Court Fool was an institution in the East as much as in the West, and the wit and humour of many a famous holder of that office are still in circulation. There are humorous pieces in Eastern dramas, and the buffoon on the stage, not necessarily one of the cast in the drama that is being acted, does not fail to get a hilarious reception every time he appears. It is a mistake, therefore, to think that the faculty has been inhibited by the habitual pessimism of the East. The faculty is there, but has not been cultivated to the same extent as in the West.

The greater development in the West is, I believe, not so much due to the so-called

Another series has been started entitled, 'Bringing up Father', in which a wife, with no social position but with high social ambition, tries to wean her unfortunate husband from the habits and the company of the poor and the lowly. This is even more popular. A number of other humorous serials have been commenced, but they are generally below the standard reached by these two. There is still a third feature of newspapers. The essential points of a situation, policy or controversy are hit off in a neat phrase or sentence which is singularly illuminating. These brevities and epigrams reveal a considerable grasp of the subject and a marvelous facility of style and thought. Their conciseness makes for a sudden release of the idea, in itself telling, but, what is still more effective, presents it in a new light altogether.

The caricature of prominent men and women is another distinct feature of humour. The peculiarities in their features and the traits in their character are brought out with striking effect. The identity is not lost in the exaggeration. What is still more striking is the analysis of a situation some of these reveal. To readers of *Punch* and *Life* many examples will occur. They are a helpful and

instructive commentary on politics and society, and highly educative to the large class of readers whose comprehension is crude and defective, or who have not the time to think for themselves. Abuses and oddities of fashion or style, and many other ugly developments in society and politics, are held up to ridicule, which tends to suppress many of these. The hobble skirt, the style of conversation and dress of the modern girl, the language of the golfer, and some of the fads of ladies are among the subjects which furnish inspiration to the caricaturist.

Humour has penetrated so far that it has reached even the sphere of childhood. When I was in the States, the small figure of a child in porcelain, resting its chin on its knees, and looking across with its large eyes, deep in observation, was a favourite decoration at shop windows. This struck me as a serious trespass. Humour is not all joy, or delight unmixed. The detachment and superiority of self involved are not appropriate to the humorous contemplation or view of children's ways of attitude, which should not produce anything but pure joy. The popularity of these figures shows how the tendency has proceeded in the direction of

number of cases of insanity and suicides so common a feature of Western life.

To these drawbacks to a life lived under high pressure, the cultivation of humour acts as a corrective, for humour involves a certain detachment. It involves more than one viewpoint. Indeed without this double vision humour is impossible. It enables one to see oneself in his natural relation to men and things. The humorous man sees not alone the work before him, but also himself in relation to it, and himself and his work in relation to that of others. Part is not confused with the whole, nor the whole with the part. Humour makes for correct perspective and balance. It builds up a reserve, which can be drawn upon when a crash is threatened, a differentiation of mental energy in which the driving power is separated, and not mixed up, with the supervising functions.

Humour makes for sympathy and understanding, not the sympathy and understanding, however, which would result in help at the sacrifice of self. Self is by no means suppressed or sacrificed. Indeed, the sense of security of the self is a condition of humour. The self may be threatened but must have the confidence to survive. No one is likely to

raise a laugh against oneself without the confidence that he can survive the temporary discomfiture, which is more than made up by the rebound of one's sense of superiority. The Prime Minister of England could raise a laugh by referring to the refusal to him of shelter for the night in a building, on the ground that there were many folks in the neighbouring Lunatic Asylum who claimed to be Prime Ministers! The porter's incredulity brought prominently to the mind of the Prime Minister his own greatness, which therefore pleased rather than irritated him. A person with no such commanding position would have come away nursing deep resentment against the porter, for the refusal would have confirmed his position rather than thrown it into pleasurable contrast. In the one, the implication has an element of truth, in the other it is so outrageously contrary that no harm is felt. No humour is possible, therefore, where the self is not in detachment but goes too far under for recovery of composure. One may now understand the development of the faculty in the West. The conditions that make for humour are all there, the tendency to concentration, absorption and cultivation of the self, the

multiplication of contacts and collisions in a life of many-sided activity, the necessity for sustained effort, the tremendous need for relaxation, for correct perspective and balance, the advantage of consulting different view-points and interests. There are others less important, perhaps, and more obvious, which excite the faculty, the contrasts life presents in classes and conditions of people in juxta-position.

It is not suggested that humour is not possible under other conditions of life. There had been humour in the West before society took to its present line of advance, and Irish humour has attained its well-deserved popularity under conditions different from those described above. Nor is it all a matter of conditions and little of temperament. It is not my present purpose, nor have I the capacity, to analyse humour in all its aspects. My object is rather to analyse the conditions in the West, and indicate such as make for its cultivation and the wide demand that there is for it.

The demand has increased as life has progressed in complexity. What was a happy gift once is now deliberately cultivated, and cultivated with remarkable success. The

humorous author commands the widest sale. He is most in requisition by editors of newspapers and magazines; so is the humorous artist, whether a caricaturist or a cinema actor. This is the happy gift that has brought to Chaplin millions, and his position as a cinema king. So has advanced W. W. Jacobs from the humble position of a Post Office clerk to the front rank among humorous novelists.

Through the medium of the cinema, the press and the periodical literature, the amount of humour rendered available to the public is enormous. There are magazines exclusively devoted to it, such as *Life* and *Puck* in America and *Punch* in England. In the daily papers there are columns set apart for it, besides sketches. It is not many years since a new feature was introduced in comic representation. It occurred to a humorous artist to make a few sketches illustrating the life of two imaginary characters, Mutt and Jeff. The editor, to whom they were submitted, saw the possibilities, accepted them at once, and asked for more. So started the amusing sketches of the relations between these two characters, which have become so popular that they are found in most papers in the United States.

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intellectualisation of human relations. There should be no double vision of the morning of life. It is a desecration.

There are vast fields still unexplored. In the sayings and doings of the lower classes of the population there is a field, rich in harvest, for those who, having reached a higher eminence, can discern better the lines of thought or action in advance, and derive no small pleasure from a close correspondence of expectation and realisation, from the clearer discernment of motives and passions, from the disfigurement of limited outlooks and prejudices, and from the pleasing contrast these afford to their own superior position.

I have, perhaps, emphasised too much the selfish element in humour. I have already indicated that sympathy and understanding are essential elements. The Prime Minister referred to above would rather sympathise than be offended with the porter whose crude intellect could not discern the distinguished character of his visitor. A more obscure gentleman would have been rather inclined to resentment. A sympathy so conditioned is not of the highest order. It may help to exploit better by the superior understanding of emotion and passions.

Even so it is a great way to go to get down from isolation to understanding. A Kipling was necessary to reveal that the British 'Tommy' had a mind. It is better for 'Tommy' that its existence has at last been recognised. He is treated with more human sympathy than he was. So one hopes that the conditions of the slum-dwellers in the West, and of the Negro in America, will improve as humour is brought into play more and more over their mentality and their actions. It is highly significant that so promising a field is still to a large extent unexplored by the humorist. It indicates the wide gulf that separates these classes from the rest of the community. The slum-dweller is far too degraded, too far down in the underworld, for association and understanding; and the relations between the Whites and the Negro are still in a flux, crude and erratic. White superiority has never been in question, but there is still insecurity, felt or fancied, from the possibility of the humaner relation producing moral vigour and stamina in the inferior. The Negro is still considered too much of a savage, the slum-dweller still a brute to be given the status of common humanity.

THE NEGRO

THE coloured races are so habitually lectured to by Western Missionaries and others on their serious deficiencies in regard to their sense of the brotherhood of man that they are inclined to believe, till experience is gained to the contrary, in the universal prevalence of this virtue in the West, and there is much in Missionary effort, apart from their admonitions, to nurse and sustain the impression. The actual facts, when they come to the notice of the Eastern traveller, come with the shock of a sudden revelation, and represent the saddest of his many disillusionments. The first experience came to me when I was denied a berth by a London Steamer Agent unless I found another Indian to share a cabin. On the journey across the Atlantic I had the luxury of a dining table all to myself on the boat. At Boston and New York I did not observe any serious distinction as regards myself or others. Negroes and Whites there travel together in trams, trains and buses, but from Washington southwards, along the entire region of the Southern

States, the colour prejudice is such that the traveller, of a brown or dark complexion from the East, who neglects to take adequate precaution, may fall a victim to it. In Washington itself, hotels, theatres, restaurants and barbers' shops may close their doors against him though he may gain admission with difficulty. All the trains going south and west from the capital have special cars set apart for the Negro, in which alone he may travel. In the trams there is reservation again, and even in the Railway Station the Negroes have separate waiting rooms. The Eastern traveller who does not indicate his nationality by a conspicuous turban or a Turkish fez may at any time be denied admission to the section reserved for the Whites, or, if he is there already, directed to take his place among the Negroes. Hotels, restaurants and barbers' shops kept by the Whites and patronized by the average people will not serve on any account, but prejudice is less in those which serve the richer and more educated and cultured, who usually can understand the difference between the Negro and the coloured man from the East. A great deal of unpleasantness can be avoided by precautions and patience, and the

incidents arising out of actual prejudice are but few. But the sense that at any moment one may have to face one, possibly in situations the most inconvenient, is difficult to endure when journeys to be undertaken are long, and one has to deal with strangers from day to day.

The extension of the prejudice against the coloured traveller from other countries is an indication of its intensity against the Negro, but one has to go into the question more fully to realise that what the traveller has to endure is but an insignificant fraction of what is the Negro's portion in the States. However educated and intelligent he may be, he is not welcome in any profession. He may occasionally be a clerk, but usually he is a porter, cook, servant or labourer. He has to live in the worst quarter of the town, or has a special portion of it set apart for him. He may not stay as tenant or owner in any other part without a general desertion of the locality by the Whites, and, as a consequence, a tremendous fall in rents and in the value of houses. It is inevitable that vice should be rampant among the Negroes and that their standard of living should remain low.

It is said that a very large percentage of

them suffer from venereal diseases, and that almost all of them are dirty as the pig. One would, therefore, expect that they would not be employed as cooks or personal attendants. In many houses, however, they are taken as cooks or other domestics. They are employed as barbers, and in the Pullmancars they are taken as attendants in preference to the Whites. And children may be in charge of Negro nurses. These anomalies are so great that one is puzzled to decide which to reject, the estimate by the Whites of the cleanliness of the Negroes, or the implied estimate of their own cleanliness. Caste in India is at least more logical.

The lower standard enables the Negro to accept lower wages than what the Whites would receive, which brings on riots in which the Negroes are the worst of the sufferers. As a tenant farmer the difficulties against his making headway are numerous, not only from his own limited training and intelligence, but far more from the vicious system known as 'peonage', which, compelling him to purchase his requirements at exorbitant prices from stores kept by the landlord—rendered the heavier by false accounts and enormous interest—keep him encumbered

with too heavy a load of debt to enable him to escape from bondage. The tenements provided by the landlord are of the scantiest and poorest description with insufficient protection from the inclemencies of the weather. But a few rise from this condition to independent farming; while the greater proportion serve as tenants weighted with debt and oppression. The runaways are rounded up and brought back to the service of the landlord. Assaults are frequent, and murders are by no means uncommon, in which the culprit usually escapes without even a trial.

Not all Negroes are black. Six millions of the eleven in the States are of White extraction and a great proportion of these cannot be easily distinguished in features or complexion from the Whites, except in regard to the hair which is almost invariably woolly or kinky. Even this feature is said to be absent in a few. No similarity of features however close, or fairness of complexion however great, will secure equality of treatment. The faintest trace of Negro blood suffices for rigid exclusion, and white or black, all Negroes are treated alike. The treatment accorded to the white Negro is in striking contrast

with the treatment of the Eurasian in India, who is indulged and favoured. That in spite of it there are only about 200,000 Eurasians in India against the six million half breeds in the States, is eloquent of the higher standard of Indian morality.

The prejudice against the Negro does not extend to the American Indian who is also coloured. But American Indians are but few in number, and several of them are very rich and have not the taint of slavery. Union with them does not entail social obloquy or persecution. Indian ancestry may even be asserted with pride by a girl who has it. A White woman who dares to marry a Negro will be treated almost as a leper. It will be recalled, in this connection, that the wife of the world-famous boxer, Jack Johnson, was driven to suicide by the persecution of the Whites.

By far the worst blot on the Americans is lynching. During the year I was in the States there were no less than 89 lynchings, of which 8 were of women. I followed the details of these outrages in the newspapers, and I have read subsequently authenticated accounts of others written by White authors, in which, so far as I could judge, there was no exaggeration.

whatever. In most of these the cause was an alleged outrage, or rather an alleged attempt at outrage, of a White woman, and it seemed to me that a White woman had only to raise a finger against a Negro for the Whites of the place to set upon him. In one instance that occurred during my stay, the girl had only to say that a Negro had insulted her, while both were in an electric lift, for the Whites to chase the Negro, and for a fierce outbreak of a racial riot in which the whole Negro quarter of the town was burnt down and many lives, both of Whites and Negroes, were lost. Usually, however, the consequences are not so serious. The Negro who has been accused is taken out of the prison, often under the eyes of the judge, and hanged to the nearest tree. A more ferocious procedure is to burn him alive. This human, or rather inhuman, bonfire used to be advertised in the papers to draw people to witness the performance, and from among the vast assemblage of men and women and even children some took home mementos of the occasion. The details of the following outrage are from a book written by a White man. A rich Negro, who had shot a White dead for committing rape on his daughter, had to undergo the or-

deal in which none less than a Senator carried the torch to start the fire. The Negro was tied to a stake, and, till the flames grew and gathered round to envelop the victim, was subjected to various tortures of which one consisted in poking a red-hot iron at him. The unfortunate man once grasped the rod to thrust it aside when the skin of his palm came off frizzling on the rod. It is said that he endured the torture without the twist of a single muscle till he finally succumbed to the flames. There are still other refinements of cruelty. A Negro was tied to a Ford car, and it was driven at full speed to a bridge where, though the Negro was found dead from the violence of the dragging, the body was nevertheless hung up and riddled through with bullets by every one of the gang. Roasting on the roadside over a slow fire is said to be another variety.

I have given these gruesome details to indicate the extent to which an American crowd will go in its hatred of the Negro. In the passion and heat of the moment, bent upon the life of an individual, any crowd is likely to resort to violent methods of murder. What is significant is that when, from inevitable infection from this mania, the Whites

are also lynched, the methods resorted to are not of such revolting barbarity. What is still more significant is that, where the Negro is the victim, there is by no means the moral certainty of the crime he is alleged to have committed, which alone will lead to the lynching of a White.

The actual perpetration of these outrages is usually by the lower orders of society, for the most part the riff-raff from Southern Europe, almost all excitable and more or less criminally inclined, who have a grievance against the Negroes as a class for their acceptance of lower wages. But there is no question that without the moral support of a majority of the Whites in the locality, or criminal indifference on their part, the outrages could not take place. The Senator mentioned above would not have dared to justify his action in the press, nor would newspapers advertise lynching and publish photographs if the prevailing sentiment of the community as a whole was definitely against such brutal exhibitions of savage ferocity.

Europeans are apt to be a little too self-complacent in regard to this matter. I was told that pictures of Negro lynching occasion-

ally pass from one hand to another with a shrug and a smile in the drawing rooms of London Society. I am by no means sure of the moral superiority thus implied. There is plenty of evidence that Europeans under similar circumstances would behave no better. The use of bombs from aeroplanes has been adopted by the British as well as the South Africans to terrorise tribes into submission, or to break up their economic system and thereby make them more dependent on the White settlers. Nor do the accounts that reach one of brutal assaults and outrages on natives or of punishments more brutal still, ending in permanent maiming or even in death, perpetrated by responsible individuals in plantations and estates in colonies of the nations of Europe, indicate by any means a higher standard of humanity. It was not very long ago that the world was startled by the revelations of the Putmayo atrocities perpetrated by the Belgians. American lynchers have at least the excuse of feelings embittered by past association and past history, fanned to flame by suspected outrage against a White woman or by unfair competition. The indiscriminate slaughter of men, women and children, or the brutal punishment

of estate coolies or servants is planned in the office-room, and carried out with the cold deliberation of the discharge of an official responsibility. Not that the Americans are free from similar acts of cold cruelty. The recent atrocities of the American navy-men in Haiti are as black as any which were perpetrated in Mesopotamia or in South Africa.

The truth is the attitude towards coloured peoples is more or less the same among all the peoples of the West. Prejudice is least among the French. Among the others, similar conditions are likely to call forth the same reaction. The attitude of the West has been determined as much by past history as by their present position. The records of early European enterprises in the world, of exploration and conquest, are black with indescribable crimes, in which the thought did not seem to have once entered their minds that the helpless inhabitants, with whom they came into contact, were human beings like themselves. The shooting down by a band of Dutch adventurers of defenceless men, women and children found in a cave for absolutely no provocation whatever who rubbed the wounds to see what the bullets

had done, is one sample of the many thousand incidents which reveal the shocking inability of White settlers to realise the human identity of the savage. We shall not go further back but turn to the present position of the Westerners engaged in exploiting different parts of the world amidst indigenous populations who far outnumber them. It is obvious, in these circumstances, that unless they cultivated a spirit of rigid exclusiveness based on superiority, real or fancied,—but so far real, that the native is usually helpless against them—, they would soon lose their identity with the parent stock, which has to be maintained if more settlers are to follow in their wake, and if the connection with the mother country, so vital to the maintenance of racial standards, is to continue. No young colony can afford to cut itself off from the mother country which is its sheet anchor in the troublous waters of vast alien populations.

The severity of the methods employed to prevent intermixture which is destructive of identity, is proportioned to the difficulty of the problem, limited only by the character of the settlers. Those who migrate abroad are usually drawn from the lower orders of

society, the very classes with less restraint on their passions, whose outlooks are narrow, and whose character is so debased that the United States have been compelled to exercise a careful selection. It is not to be expected that the dealings of such men will be characterised by any human feeling under the stress of the necessities described. When, therefore, we read of Chinese head-hunting in California in the middle of the last century, or of parties going to hunt and shoot down Australian savages, we have to remember that the classes who made these a sport were little above animals in mentality, and by no means representatives of the better elements in Europe. In the Australian Colonies, at any rate, people have in them a great deal of the blood of the worst criminals of England.

Nor has there been in the past history of the Western peoples anything which would make for a more humane treatment. The failure of every attempt to bring Europe under one central power has been unfortunate from one important standpoint. the development of a common European culture and polity. Had the Roman Empire, or those that followed it, endured

long, Europe would not have been, as she is to-day, a concatenation of discordant atoms, a menace to herself and to the world. The formation of independent and hostile nations instead has released European nations from the necessity, that otherwise there would have been, of adjusting local peculiarities to the requirements of a common culture which emphasised similarities rather than differences. Local and racial boundaries were, however, too strongly defined, and the defences were too much aided and abetted by physical barriers to make for the endurance of a common Empire. Europe proceeded on the alternative plan of a number of independent nations, which helped the progress of individual peoples to a greater degree than would have been possible under a common Empire. The homogeneity of limited areas was not impossible, but it has been attained with no small difficulty. The fierce persecutions of nationalities not their own, as of the Jews, of Roman Catholics by Protestants, and of Protestants by Roman Catholics, which fill the pages of European history, have been occasioned, it seems to me, by their passion for homogeneity. As will be shown

in a later chapter, the West has not yet succeeded in developing a polity suited to a heterogeneous population. Taking for granted for the moment that the mechanism of Western Government is suited only for homogeneous peoples, it does not become difficult to understand why every divergence from accepted creeds and standards has been suppressed with an iron hand. It is that ancient instinct, preserved and developed through twenty centuries of European history at the cost of so much suffering, that explains the refusal on the part of Europeans to admit into their polity alien races on equal terms. Where the numbers of these latter were small and helpless, they determined on extermination. Where they are formidable in numbers they are held under subjection, and no resource is left untried which will break their spirit, their economic and moral resistance, and finally bring about their disintegration and decay to secure more effectively their political subservience.

If this is the policy which determines the attitude of the West towards coloured races, the question may be asked how the persecutions of the Negro still continue notwithstanding the fact that the White popula-

tion has an assured predominance. The Whites number a hundred millions and the Negroes eleven millions, and it might seem that in this preponderance there is sufficient security to make lynchings less excusable. So there would be. But the Negroes are not uniformly scattered over the whole country. They are to be found mainly in the Southern States, where the relative proportions of the Whites to the Negroes are by no means as indicated. In several States the Negroes equal or outnumber the Whites in the aggregate. A far more important consideration in the history of the Negro in the United States is that he was brought as a slave, and, until the War of liberation, was treated as a slave, and treated far worse than slaves were treated in the East or even in Rome and Greece, for no Negro could ever rise to freedom and rank.

The harrowing details of the slave traffic which deposited Negroes first in the United States will not bear reproduction, but without glancing over them one cannot understand the immensity of the fires that are fanned to flame by racial riots at the present time. The captain and crew of the ships employed were savages of the worst description, by the side

of whom those who were called by that name were angels. They stopped at no scruple, at no artifice however vile, at no atrocity however ferocious, to get hold of the men, who were then chained together and thrown into the hold with the barest necessities of life. The sick were thrown overboard long before they died to save expense, and, to avoid the trouble of removing their chains, their legs were cut off first that the chains rivetted on them might the more easily be slipped off and removed. The survivors were sold to the highest bidders, and purchases were made with little reference to family ties. Husband was separated from wife, and parents from children. In the plantations heavy work was extracted under the whip, and they were huddled together in hovels which were hot-beds of disease. On the whole, however, it was to the interest of the owner that his slaves were alive and healthy, and the relations of master and slave were usually marked by humanity, though they were so fixed and unalterable as to be occasionally disfigured by many a violence and atrocity.

Slavery was confined to the Southern States, and this fact fortunately militated

against its long continuance. The farmers of the South, helped by slave labour, could produce cheaper than their brethren in the North who had only their strong arms to rely upon, and in the competition for markets at home and abroad the advantage lay with the slave-owning farmers. The abolition of slavery has been so often paraded as a glorious achievement resulting from the highest and purest of human motives that those who have not studied the history of the question are likely to find it hard to believe that beneath all this display of exalting sentiment there lay a powerful motive of self-interest. The land-owning classes in England and the cultivating farmers in the north of the United States were the sufferers from the slavery in the plantations in the Southern States and the West Indies, which placed them in an unequal position for they could not successfully compete with the plantation owners who could produce cheaper. Slavery was abolished primarily to set right this inequality, and, therefore, far less from humanity than from economic necessity. It is inevitable that the system which had been developed on slave labour should find itself disorganised and unable easily to make the new adjustments

required on a basis of free labour. The Whites in the South realised that they were in a minority amidst a population suddenly released from bondage and declared permanently equal with them. It was feared that the sudden flood of liberty would overwhelm many a Negro. Excesses were apt to be committed from the inevitable rebound. In a few at least of the States the Negroes were in a majority, and could have dominated the Councils if they knew how to use their new-found liberty. The Whites, threatened with the possibilities of remembered wrongs and the use of an unfamiliar weapon, organised themselves to terrorise the Negroes and bring them back to submissiveness. They stopped at no brutality, at no act of frightfulness, to keep them in much the same condition as they were before the War of secession. The Negroes were free in law, but in bondage in fact. In many an instance their condition worsened. The sense of dependence, cultivated through many decades, cannot be done away with by statutory declaration. For the reciprocal relations of protection and service no substitute had been provided. The Negro was illiterate and ignorant, and could not easily get rid

of the habit of dependence. How was he to make good under the new dispensation, in which the good will, such as it was, of the master, was replaced by suspicion and hatred, when his actions were liable to serious misconception and fierce punishment? These unhappy associations of slavery and the circumstances of its abolition have to be remembered when passing judgment on the Americans.

While, therefore, the American treatment of the Negro is in keeping with the repugnance of the West towards coloured races as a whole, the continuance of the outrages must receive the severest condemnation. It is difficult to believe that a people, whose charter of liberty is eloquent of the common rights of humanity, should have tolerated slavery and fiendish excesses more appropriate to a savage condition of life. It is a futile plea that the outrages are perpetrated by the lower orders. The control of the lower orders ought not to be beyond the resources of a civilised Government.

The better class of Americans are waking up to the necessity of removing this national disgrace. It is to be hoped that before many years elapse the world will have seen the last

of these awful spectacles. The number of lynchings each year is fast declining. The task, however, is difficult. Public opinion is too pre-occupied, and propagandists will not easily be found for a cause so unpopular with large classes of the population who may cause them no small hardship and annoyance. Nor is it easy for the Government to provide against the contingency, which may arise at any moment and anywhere in the vast area of the United States. The outrages very often take place in localities which have far too insufficient a police force to give protection to an accused Negro from the violence of the multitude, and take place too suddenly for a sufficient force to be gathered up in good time. While these are certainly serious difficulties in the way, they are certainly not insuperable if the Government will but tax their ingenuity and use their resources.

The truth is, however, that the Government of the people and by the people must partake of the character of the people, and sink or rise with them. Sensitive to the influence of public sentiment, they cannot fail to be sensitive in this particular. The contrast that is here presented, with more

despotic Governments, is striking and instructive. Habitually less responsive to public opinion, and usually independent of its active support in matters of public interest, despotic Governments can take action in defiance of it. Any protection extended to the Negro in advance of public sentiment would be resisted by large sections of the population, from the possibility of its encouraging the Negro unduly, and may fan to flame anew the embers of racial hatred, and the Government that extended such protection may not survive the next election. This is one of the serious drawbacks of a democracy.

Till a solution is found the lynchings will continue to embitter the feelings of the Negro and brutalise the Whites. The Negro is now turning to face the Americans for the first time. The share he has had in the war and his experiences of the better treatment his brethren from Africa were given by the French, have changed his outlook, and he is no longer prepared to suffer without retaliation. In the racial riots after the war the Negro has tried to sell his life dear. With the increasing co-operation and organisation to which the pressure of the Whites is driving the Negroes they may increase their defensive

armature. That may make for mutual retaliations for many years until the relations alter for the better.

It would be far better to devise a permanent solution of the racial problem. The woes of the Negro arise mainly from his intermixing with the Whites who, as I have tried to point out, have perfected a Government machinery only for homogeneous communities, and who, therefore, cannot admit the Negro to a footing of political equality. It would make for harmony and peace if the Negro population could be divided between two or three small States of their own, where they might be left to manage their own affairs under due safe-guards for the security of the neighbouring White population and for the security of the country as a whole. Every help should be rendered to these States till they are set well on their feet. Every manufacture, except those of arms and ammunitions, should be encouraged, and the States made self-supporting after contributing their share to the national exchequer. No Negro should be permitted to settle in any of the White States, but he might be allowed to travel on a footing of perfect equality. Solutions along these or similar lines woul

it seems to me, tend to a permanent settlement, and prevent those scenes that have drawn upon America the condemnation of the world at large.

It would take me too far beyond my capacity, already, I fear, very much put to heavy strain, to suggest solutions of racial problems in other quarters of the world. In Australia and New Zealand the problem is not very complex, the existing aboriginal populations being in a small minority and likely to disappear before long. There the menace is from the overcrowded populations of China and Japan, which cannot be removed unless the Whites fill up rapidly the vast continent or share it with others who are in great need. In South Africa, the proportions of Whites to the aboriginals are the reverse of those in Australia, and unless the spheres are defined by mutual agreement the persecutions and oppressions will continue. No adjustment is possible without sacrifice of individualism on the part of the colonists who, by every circumstance of past history, of colonisation and of habit, are individualistic. No individualistic community can settle down along with others and preserve its identity except as a master. No other rela-

lion is possible without a sacrifice of individualism. It is therefore difficult to imagine that any improvement in the relations will come except by the gradual perception of their degradation on the part of the coloured races, and by their organisation and discipline. No resources of legislation, of legalised pillage and of modern weapons, is likely, however, to be left untried by the Whites to prevent the blacks from attaining to that level.

The only serious force working against the West is at present its diminishing fecundity and the astonishingly prolific character of Eastern populations. The rise in the standard of living and comfort in the West will place them at a serious disadvantage in spite of all the resources of modern civilization at their command, and may restore once again the balance in favour of the East as a whole. There is danger too, in the general awakening of the East, which may result in an imitation of the West sufficiently close to compete successfully in the very lines in which the West has specialised, and in that competition the lower standard of living and the resulting lower wages will tell heavily against the West. These are very grave

possibilities in a struggle in which the West may be put back to a place more in consonance with its resources of men and materials.

That is, however, too far to look into the future. In the meanwhile it is to be hoped that some startling discovery of the West will render the condition of life so easy that it would release humanity in the West from the insensate pursuit of worldly possessions which, amidst many things of undoubted good, has brought so much that is evil and debasing not only to the West but to the world at large. If this should ever happen, then perhaps the West will learn to have more kindly and brotherly feelings to the coloured races who, it thinks now, have been created for its benefit.

XVI

RELIGION

IN no field is the influence of modern life so difficult to measure as in religion which is of the spirit and in which there are no universally accepted scales of measurement. One may measure it by the external accompaniments, as Westerners do not hesitate to do, but externals have by no means the same value to all subjectively. Nor is the task rendered easy by changes in religious thought and habit which have not yet crystallised round any well-defined principles or formulae. Old landmarks are giving way, and new ones are difficult to distinguish or have not formed. For the moment one sees the edifice pulled down in parts and the materials scattered about, and it is difficult to say whether another will be built in its place or other distractions prove too many for the completion of the project.

If a close analysis is difficult, a broad view may be attempted with some measure of success. Incidents have come to my notice whose tendency is unmistakable. None can miss, for example, the significance of the

placard, which I saw in an old church on the first day of my landing in Boston, which earnestly requested people to look after their souls as they would after their bank accounts. Nor is it likely that one can be wrong in the inference, which one draws from the invariable circumstance that in the course of the many addresses by priests at street corners—some of them places of heavy-traffic, as for example, the street adjoining the Pennsylvania Railway Station in New York—, the observer constituted the sole audience!

From experiences like these I am driven to the conclusion that Christianity as preached and taught in the Bible has ceased to have a general appeal. It could not be well otherwise. The essence of Christianity lies overlaid with so many non-essentials, among them superstitions and beliefs which the scrutiny of science has exposed one after another. And these non-essentials, are held so much a part of the religion by its constituted exponents, that the individual has the choice of all or none. Nor do the essentials square with the requirements of modern life sufficiently to lead to the choice of the former alternative. The truth is the exponents of

Christianity are on the horns of a dilemma. A Christianity refined of its cruder elements would not suit the needs of a large part of the population to whom the fear of hell-fire and eternal punishment, strange as it may seem, is still necessary as warning against temptation. And this service which it appears to do fairly well is considered to be of greater importance to the security and tranquillity of society than the allegiance of the cultured few from whom, religion, or no religion, no harm to society can arise. It is a short-sighted policy which would sacrifice the true allegiance of the few for the precarious hold on the many, never likely to last long on the flimsy foundations described, which the progress of education is bound to undermine at no distant date. Then would proceed a universal collapse far more dangerous to society. It would be wiser to provide against that day by a timely sacrifice of whatever is not vital or beautiful or true in Christianity.

It might have been possible to rest Christianity secure gradually on a philosophy which supports and vivifies its fundamental principles; and then the numerous dogmas and doctrines derived from it, which now tend to fly too far apart, would be held each in its

place, saved from mutual collision by the gravitation of the central truths. And forms and formulae, over which men wrangle so much, would lose much of their significance in the greater importance attached to the spirit. In its absence the movement is all the other way, centrifugal rather than centripetal, and many a doctrine is obscure in the distance which it has travelled from the central truths. The truth is Christianity in its origin, and for a considerable portion of its subsequent history, has been a religion of the underdog. It has served to console the poor, the weak, and the oppressed, and to correct the wicked and the vicious. To feel consoled by appeals to one's sinful character is to be reconciled to poverty, neglect and suffering; and to convince the erratic and the criminally inclined of eternal punishment by hell-fire is to assist them to exercise better self-control. When classes and communities do not want to be reconciled to the position they find themselves in life, and are compelled by circumstances to find the requisite strength to secure a better position, they do not any longer care for this consolation, for they do not want to be reconciled. Nor can those who

have succeeded in observing the Ten Commandments up to the point of their external fulfilment find any inducement in the increasingly artificial character of modern society and its legalised relations to proceed further in their religion, as Christ wanted them to do, to bring internal feelings in harmony with external acts. In the wild character of the West, in its unbelievable violence and oppressions up to a few centuries ago, the whole of Christian teaching had to be thrown on the negative side of morality rather than on its positive aspects. The external relations between man and man were more important than the relations between man and God. The East trusted to the reflex effect of a harmony between man and God to produce a harmony between man and man. They started at the other end in the West because of the greater urgency of the problem there of the security of life and limb; and demands of modern life as well as 'religion' requiring mere external adjustments, the need for the sincerities, on which Christianity lays so much emphasis, has not been perceived.

The extension of harmony beyond the limits of the nations is the crying need of the century, and Christianity in its essential

features is universal in its appeal. But progress in that direction has been impeded by the formation of the state-aided church, and by the overpowering influence of nationalism on it. A church established to adapt religion to the requirements of the people, and a people unscrupulous enough to make religion subserve its own selfish interests, have divested Christianity of its universal character, and made it sink to the level of a tribal religion. So has Christianity in most countries of the West. The spectacle of the churches of Europe sending up frantic appeals to the same God to give hell to one another in the recent War, so ludicrous were it not so pathetic, is the best proof, were proof needed, that Christianity has sunk back to the tribal level of a negative morality from which Christ elevated it to the height of a universal religion centuries ago. Churches have indeed killed their Christ.

The fault is thus not of Christianity but Churchianity, and it shows clearly why the prevailing Christianity is unable to meet the pressing needs of a toil-worn, war-weary world. A priesthood that placed religion above national interests would not be tolerated for a moment; and compelled to choose

between conviction and livelihood, they have chosen the less ennobling of the alternatives. Such a priesthood may gain the gratitude of the people by the prostitution of its calling, but not their respect. Indeed the unholy surrender to the nationalistic demand makes its position anomalous and ridiculous. The people are weary of war, and, frightened not a little by the ghastly self-revelation of the late conflagration, are anxious to find a way out which will render wars impossible. But the priesthood, the very body by right of calling to lead and assist in that direction, has too seriously compromised its position by its own share to be of any substantial influence. Those who preached for war cannot now preach against it. Even if there were no breach of faith on the part of the priests, they stood to lose their ground unless they went back to Christ and took the people along. But the qualities required for successful competition in the West are qualities the very reverse of those on which Christ laid so much stress. Christ wanted man to dwell in the spirit, and the Westerner dwells in the flesh. To Christ the idea matters, to the Westerner the fact. Christ insists on surrender, the Westerner insists on assertion.

These divergencies are serious enough when they dominate the relations between members of the same community or people, but they are far more so when such people are brought into contact with others of a different race, where the divergence intensifies into permanent irreconcilable conflict. The necessities of imperial advance, as will be shown later, tend to do violence to every principle of Christian teaching. Imperialism, far from being a conquest of love, is a love of conquest, and Christ can be no party there.

The individualism of modern Christianity is by no means what Christ could have intended. The whole weight of his teaching is, as I read the Bible, against it. In the Beatitudes, in the Sermon on the Mount and in numerous other places, he insisted on man cultivating the non-self rather than the self. What there is of individualism is, therefore, an accident in the origin of the religion in a city, for individualism is inevitable in city life. For a religion of love, such as Christ's was, the emphasis should have been rather on God's Goodness and Love rather than His Justice. The individual should have sought assimilation rather than mercy. Yet, curiously

enough, Christ insists on submission to the Divine Will. This is a singular inconsistency in a religion which is clearly a religion of Love, but it is the one part of Christianity which is in harmony with the trend of modern progress.

Congregational worship in Christianity is of interest in this connection. The wholesome reaction on the sense of common brotherhood produced by many worshipping together, is obvious. What may not be so clear is the element of will involved in worship of that character. When prayer is individual, the emotion connected with the worship arises naturally, but when many join at a specific time it is rather called to order than spontaneous, and any emotion in the mind inappropriate for the time is suppressed, and the right one called forth by an effort of the will. It is an appropriate beginning for prayers which usually seek to discipline the will.

To help the correct emotion the Churches are beautifully decorated, and there is usually the best music from organs 'rolling waves of sound on roof and floor', in accompaniment to the voice of the whole congregation. The effect is overpowering. I attended a few

services, and, if I may judge from the effect on me, what it produced on the worshipper is rather a sense of the majesty and might of God and the insignificance of man, and, when the service is over, a sense of relief that the ordeal is over and that he has been correct in his behaviour in the august Presence. It did not strike me that in the worshippers, even in the most sincere among them, there was anything more than a confidence that they were in the right path and not out of the ambit of God's mercy. They appeared to derive a moral rather than a spiritual gain from the service. In individual worship, alone in solitude, the communion may take a more personal and far less formal character. But any such feelings as the longings and the hungers of the soul for union with God are not conceivable. God is a Shepherd and man the sheep. In Roman Catholic churches the atmosphere is more emotional, and worship calls forth emotions more analogous to those in the religions of the East.

I have said that the religious influence of the priesthood is small in the cause of religion. That is not however to say that the priesthood is of little service to the community. In the poor parishes, where the wolf

is almost always at the door and the struggle against poverty and disease is incessant, there is often only the priest to say a word of comfort to the poor and to try to diminish their sorrows by sharing in them. It is difficult to put into words what these little attentions and kind enquiries mean to folks who receive no other human sympathy. The example of the meek individual moving about them with a word of good cheer and kindly thought, tends to soften the ugly disfigurements of brutalising privations. And but for his faith in God the poor priest, often in privation himself, scorned by many, and treated with indifference, could not long continue his labours amidst scenes of suffering and distress for which he has little but his heart to give. No,—God driven out of churches has not yet forsaken the lowliest and poorest of the West, and who knows He may not yet be brought back in pomp and glory to the places where He is not to be found now?

The West is by no means oblivious of the decay of religious faith and belief. There are many people of high culture and intellect who are engaged in attempts at a solution. The religions of the East are being explored, analysed or followed. The Bible is itself

being subjected to critical analysis, and the essentials distinguished from the non-essentials. The Christian Science Movement is of special interest in this connection, in the curious emphasis it lays on will as all adequate for the progress of man, physically, morally and spiritually. This development is in striking harmony with the increasing perfection of human will as the instrument of modern progress. There are a number of other sects. Most of these are appropriately enough in the United States where there is little of conservatism for accommodation to faiths whose spell has been broken. There too are now carried on elaborate investigations in psychology, of which some results, already of very great importance, may have much influence on the course of religious development in the future. Nor should we neglect the rapid strides the other sciences are making towards the ultimate truth. Whatever may be the record of Science in its share in the prevailing disbelief and doubt, it may yet be that she may do for humanity the service which she has rendered almost impossible on the part of her rival.

THE MISSIONARY

IT may seem no small matter for astonishment, the religious condition of so large a body of the people being what it is, that there should still be a continuous and increasing stream of missionaries proceeding to the East for the spread of the Gospel. There are five thousand in China, as many more in India, and in other countries of the East on much the same scale, and the question is apt to be asked why they should not employ themselves at home with greater benefit to their own countrymen.

It is not a difficult question to answer. The desire which Christ expressed for the spread of his religion is clear and emphatic, and it is but human that the Western Christian, with many a lapse to answer for in regard to himself and to his brethren at home, should try not to fail Christ at least in a matter which causes so little inconvenience and has many compensations. From all accounts that reach the West the need for Christ is much greater abroad than at home. The assumption of the youthful missionary

enthusiast of the superiority of his religion, is in keeping with the rest of the many assumptions which help to maintain a sense of superiority on the part of the West. He has had usually but little education and far less culture, and he is often too ignorant of the conditions of his own country to discern the falseness of the premises on which he starts. An acquaintance with the conditions of the slum in an industrial city might have disillusioned him. But too often there is no close analysis of motive. What has determined the career is probably the absence of other openings. It is inevitable that he should take with him the foot-rule of the West and try to measure with it the things he sees in the country of his labours, and, when they do not measure up to the standard, he rests secure in the convictions with which he started.

Usually he has to choose for his work strata of society which are always deep down, where his teaching is perhaps the first light to reach, and he is usually able to accompany the Gospel with so many social and personal advantages that he is able to gather a greater harvest there than in higher circles. He is more familiar with the conditions of these

classes, and condemns the religion and social system which make for these conditions little reflecting that on a similar ground the religion and the social system of his own country would be open to a similar, if not worse, condemnation.

When experience of these ugly features at home and reflection modify the hasty judgment of inexperience and youth, he is too far committed to foreign propaganda and his personal interests and habits are too much fixed to enable him to cut himself off from associations and 'connections that have been formed. Usually motives of personal interest suffice.

The salary paid to him is substantial and enables him to live in greater comfort and luxury than might have been possible at home. If the climate is hot, several months of rest are allowed at a hill station, and, once usually in five years, he and his family are given a long holiday home. The low scale of wages prevailing in the country enables him to have a large number of servants. His quarters are commodious and are surrounded by gardens beautifully kept. The conditions of exile are not so hard as they used to be. There are now larger

numbers of them in each country, and the opportunities of meetings at hill stations and conferences are far more frequent. The risks to life and limb are far less now than they were before. In most countries the Governments are particularly watchful of their interest, and are powerful enough to exact heavy penalties for injuries or loss caused to missionaries. Indeed, they go so far as to insist on a protection to them which the Government of the country concerned are unable to afford to their own subjects. Their presence often so multiplies the causes of interference in the affairs of the helpless State that Western Governments encourage missionary enterprise. An atrocity here or an outrage there, where missionaries are the victims, affords the chance of imposing heavy penalties and adding one more link to the chain that restrains the freedom and liberty of action of these countries. In one instance the Foreign Governments offered to a missionary lady to exact from the Chinese Government for personal injury of by no means a serious character an incredibly large sum, which, to the credit of the lady be it said, she refused. Helpless Governments are thus compelled to exercise the utmost vigilance

so that the missionary may not sustain any injury of life or property. On the whole, the life of the missionary is one of comparative ease and comfort, and many a White traveller who saw something of it in China Japan and India assured me that he would not mind becoming a missionary on those terms.

Substantial as the income is, there are opportunities for increasing it. The services of a medical missionary have to be paid for liberally in localities where other medical aid is not available. If he has had an education in natural history, he interests himself in it and makes a collection, which may be very valuable from the scientific standpoint, of the specimens; or, if he wants to make a hobby of the collection, of old art-ware, old coins, fetishes, or other articles of historical, archaeological or ethnological importance he has usually an interesting and paying field. Where these hobbies are not possible from the deficiency of training, there are still opportunities for making money by purchasing curios at small cost and selling them at high profit at home. There are missionaries who take advantage of the habit of Chinamen to start the new year clear of debts. On that

occasion articles of great value come from debtors to the market and can be purchased at low prices. The missionary who is on the watch can make a good deal of money from these transactions. No strong exception can be taken to these, although to an Eastern eye the spectacle of missionaries worshipping God and Mammon together appears anomalous.

Missionary organisations are supported, in the main, by subscriptions. Missionaries who return on leave have to keep the people alive to the need of their work abroad, and efforts in this direction are often unscrupulous. I have been at special pains to ascertain the character of the propaganda these carry on, and I am compelled to say this aspect of their work is the most reprehensible. I attended meetings addressed by missionaries home on leave from my own country and made inquiries regarding the impression they left on the audience, and in every instance I found, what was of course obvious to me, that they had judiciously selected their facts and statistics and presented them so detached from their natural settings as to let the audience carry away enduring misconceptions of the truth.

At one of these meetings where, as usual, I had taken a seat far behind unnoticed by the speaker, he tried to illustrate the difficulties of converts in India among the higher classes by referring to an instance of one who disappeared two days after his acceptance of Christianity—the impression left on the audience being, as I found afterwards, that he was made away with! And this was said of a country where there are several millions of Christians, and where, as early as the first century of the christian era, when Christians were being thrown to hungry lions in Rome, they received a shelter and a home. An expostulation by an Indian friend of mine on a similar occasion brought forth the remark that he (the Indian) did not understand American psychology. I believe that American psychology is not so impervious to truth, and, if it were, the need of the missionary's effort was more at home than abroad.

But the missionary is not so much to blame as the system, of which the very basic assumption is a superior excellence not only of Christianity but of the race which professes it. He and his calling stand in danger if he did not dwell almost exclusively on the dark side of the picture, and confound truth

by creating the impression that there is no brighter side. It is true that his work has taken him to the by-ways and alleys and he speaks of what he sees there. But he knows well enough that there are main thoroughfares of which his audience knows little and thinks little, and that in dwelling too exclusively on the lower reaches of society he is liable to produce altogether a wrong impression. That is a temptation, however, to which one may succumb, even though a preacher of the Gospel should rise far above it. But no condemnation is too severe for deliberate mis-statements, or for the adoption of the arts of the political speaker which mislead without mis-stating. But without these the audience cannot be won over to the cause. Hence the exhibition of virgin widows of four years, and of hideous idols on public platforms, and the fiction of 'Jugger-naut' so widely in circulation in the West. A Hindu or a Mahomedan missionary, if he did not respect the obligations of poverty and self-denial when seeking support for his work from his countrymen, would be compelled by a similar necessity to direct the searchlight on the slums of New York, London or Glasgow, or the proceedings of a

lynching. He does not do it because he thinks that truth requires no propaganda and will spread of its own accord, and the travesties of propaganda are harmful in the long run. He does still as the Christ wanted his disciples to do 2000 years ago, and takes no thought of personal requirements in the course of his work. The missionary is less Christian than even the Hindu or the Mahomedan priest.

The audience at missionary meetings are not over-critical. They are so impressed by a page of statistics culled from official Blue Books that a lot more of facts without official sanction may pass muster without scrutiny. The details of the condition of humanity in the countries, for the amelioration of which their money is sought, flatter and soothe the sense of superiority which the contrasts called to mind help to foster and sustain in the audience. There is self-satisfaction as well as flattery in being begged from, and there is the additional satisfaction that where Christ is being disobeyed in so many of his teachings his wishes may be respected at least in one particular. A little from the West, a little from its greater wealth, goes a long way in the

East, and the sacrifice called forth is but little.

A clearer perception of the realities of missionary propaganda is dawning on the West. The number of people is increasingly large who are convinced of the greater need of work at home and that the missionary lives a life above the requirements and obligations of his profession. In spite of these impressions missionary work is likely to continue, for the missionary has something more to do than merely spread the Gospel. He is a scout of Western civilization. Trade, exploration and dominance follow this pioneer. As soon as he is settled in a locality, he studies the language to publish a translation of the Bible, and then follow a dictionary, perhaps; he acquaints himself with the traditions, habits and customs of the people and gains an insight into their character. He is familiar with the people of the locality, and he does not fail to take note of the opportunities for commercial and industrial enterprises, and when, years later, the explorer, the merchant and the trader follow, he is there to extend to them his hospitality, to introduce them to parties they desire to meet, and in many other ways to facilitate their work.

When, still later, diplomacy begins for political privilege or dominance, there is a wealth of information on every important matter coming up, a display of statistics, and manoeuvres based on intimate knowledge of the habits and traits of the people which tend to confound and confuse, and help to secure the victory.

What is displayed in transactions like these is usually a revelation to the people quite contrary to what they had been led to expect from the character and calling of the first foreigner amidst them. He might have appeared to them eccentric, and his ways odd, but his enthusiasm for his religion, carried to the extent of leaving his country and perhaps family behind, had entitled him to their respect. They, at any rate, could not confess to a religious fervour of such magnitude, and it was all the greater in their eyes for he spoke to the poor and the oppressed and the semi-naked. They had seen with their own eyes men transformed and take a better life under his influence. Western civilization had been thus presented in its favourable aspect. They little know, however, when the explorer and the trader and the diplomatic officer come, there will be less

favourable aspects to see, but they give them welcome for they have been thrown off their guard by the experience they have had of the earliest representative of the West.

To the Government of their own country, the service done by missionaries is of the highest value. Their presence multiplies, as I have already stated, the causes for political interference. Their views on political, social and national conditions and development of the people are of great assistance in the correct alignment of foreign policy. They make excellent ambassadors when representations or negotiations have to be carried through, and the increase in the number of converts, still dependent on foreign missions and influenced by them, leads to favourable complications. When, before the menace of a foreign power, national interests have to be conserved and consolidated, and when, as in India or in the Philippines, the question of political advance is a live issue, they often range themselves, with the exception of a very few, on the side of the dominant power from apprehensions of possible insecurity under a national regime.

Another service, far less obvious but none the less important and valuable judged

from all standpoints, which the missionary could do, is the influence he may bring to bear towards harmony and union of the Churches at home. In every country there are missionaries representing various churches, but cast amidst vast alien populations they are naturally drawn into one common line of action in furtherance of interests common to all. There is less of antagonism between them abroad than at home, and the spirit they take home with them could exert a wholesome influence on the churches there, some of which present the unedifying spectacle of scrambling after followers and bringing sister churches into disrepute. So, too, the missionary home on leave might help in the reformation of Christianity itself. He must have been in the East to little purpose if he has not realised the leanings of the East, and the necessity for a radical change of the emphasis on Christ's teaching more appropriate to Eastern temperament. I have already indicated that the power and majesty of God, by emphasising which man's obedience is sought, are not the attributes on which the emotional East would like to dwell. This requirement of the East has been perceived by some of the early Christian

missionaries in India and by some modern evangelists, but by none so clearly as some Indian Christians who have sought to introduce in Christian worship the colouring and atmosphere more appropriate to the East. If, in harmony with this movement which is in keeping with a greater part of Christ's teaching, the contemplation was rather on the goodness of God, the appeal might have struck home with better effect. Apart from the impetus, the religion would have gained as a result of its spread in the East, there would have been imported into the present purely intellectual relations between God and man in the West something of the depth and vision which is and ought to be the governing feature of any religion of Love worth the name. I am not aware of any such enterprise on the part of the missionaries in the East. The reaction has been the other way. Foreign propaganda has rather tended to simplify Christianity by divesting it of those appeals which reach the heart rather than the head. I do not believe there is likely to be independence and freedom of thought in these matters so long as the missionary continues to be part of an organisation financed by the West, and has

to fashion himself according to its inexorable requirements, which deprive him of a considerable part of his initiative.

I need hardly say that most of these remarks apply to Protestant rather than to Catholic missions. There is still in Roman Catholicism enough of the genius of the East, in its worship much of the atmosphere, and in its missionary effort much of the spirit of the East. The criticism, therefore, does not apply or applies to it only in a far less degree. Nor, I trust, will it be considered by the Protestant missionaries themselves that I have not been fair to them. I have dwelt rather exclusively on the aspects of their work which are to the benefit of themselves and their countrymen. Although I have not touched on the service that they do in the country of their adoption, I am by no means blind to the beneficial effects of their efforts to be seen in the uplift of the poor and the down-trodden who might have remained where they were for many a long year without their helping hand. With that part of their work, however, I have little to do in an analysis which is mainly of the West. I am more concerned to trace in missionary enterprise some of the features

which, I consider, fundamental to the West, and if there has been criticism it is directed against the West as a whole rather than its religious representatives abroad.

XVIII

NATIONALISM

WE have seen that the effect of competition is to integrate, detach and differentiate the individual, narrow his outlooks, and sharpen his selfishness. It has also been observed that the organisations, each with specific objects and formulae for action of which he becomes a member, do not help to enlarge his vision or improve his sense of responsibility to the State. The membership of these rather tends to fragment his personality and to emphasise his particular interests by the strength and support they gain from co-operation with others in the same organisation, and far too often makes for their predominance in his mind over his obligations to the State. One is apt to think that the administrative agencies of a central Government would tend to neutralise these forces. But these agencies, even in the most advanced countries, tend to be impersonal and legal, and, therefore, fail to act as a corrective.

Allowed to operate fully, these forces would tend to disintegrate society and

engender a deepening antagonism between it and the individual subversive of all government. The frequent strikes, which hamper production, and the clash of sectional interests are grave symptoms of the unrest that is inevitable under this stress of economic individualism and particularist organisation. Society, nevertheless, is far from that stage of dissolution in the West. There are other forces at work which counteract these tendencies.

We have in nationalism a sentiment which tends to keep in check these forces of disintegration. It tends to strengthen and restore the unity of individual personality. It makes his relation to the State less impersonal. It tends to restore mental equilibrium. It tends to enlarge perspective beyond the narrow outlook of individual selfishness. The origin of nationalism can be traced through imperial expansion and territorial differentiation of interests following the establishment of kingdoms, back to tribal feeling. But as the unity extended its range from the tribe to the nation, emphasis has shifted from one element to another in the various elements that go to make up what is commonly understood as nationalism. In the

beginning the stress was on consanguinity. Now it is on the sense of common interest, although the other ingredients are there in the background.

To the primary element of union there are other elements added arising from the reactions common to all in a common environment. These reactions take the form of habits, customs and institutions, adherence to which helps to distinguish the group further from other groups. They determine very largely its individuality. By far the more commendable and beautiful part of nationalism is the ethical side of it, in which the sacrifices the individual makes to the community are for the privilege of sharing the common life.

But apart from these constructive elements which are to be found in all human associations, there is in the West another element of cohesion derived from the militaristic, aggressive character which these large groupings have assumed in the West. It will be seen in a later chapter how societies in the West came to have this feature. For the present it should suffice to state that the militaristic type alone will answer the needs of a State, in which there is a class which

appropriates to itself all political power which, at the same time, takes no share in the productive activities of the community and which can maintain that precarious position in the last resort only by recourse to arms or by the admission of the more troublesome of the excluded classes to political power. The advance of these latter classes, however, is slow and so often the result of civil war or revolution that the community does not lose its militaristic character. It is for this reason that in the course of its evolution, the national idea in the West has not been able to drop its aggressive and exclusive character. Hence, too, the clearer definition of national boundaries and the over-emphasis on the sense of right. This additional element of cohesion adds enormously to the strength of the union. But it brings self to the foreground. The individual looks upon his share in the common life not so much as an honour or privilege but as an asset. He has a lively sense not so much of benefits that already exist but of those that are to come. The share in a common life is less an end in itself than a means to an end. It is highly significant, in this connection, that nationalism in its modern form commences with colonial

expansion when the peoples of Europe began to appropriate to themselves the resources of the unsettled or sparsely populated regions of the world. The opportunities for settlement and exploitation abroad tended to compose differences and strengthen the bonds of union at home, and helped in no small degree to shape out the national idea.

The predominance of the interest motive, vital and effective as it makes the bond of union, has serious draw-backs when the differentiation of society into classes has proceeded too far, for joint action of the nation as a whole to result in an equitable share in the gains. What, for example, is the inducement to the soldier to face death in War when the sacrifice brings to the capitalist, already rich, still greater wealth, and to the wife and children he leaves behind no more than the pittance of a niggardly pension?

Anomalies like these cease to be so when nationalism is viewed as a case of herd instinct, shared in common by a group much larger than any known to exhibit it before, but still a herd instinct. It is the very essence of this instinct that, in times of common danger, certain individuals in the group

sacrifice themselves to save the rest of the herd. Numerous instances from among the lower animals may be cited of the perfection of the instinct among them. Certain colonies of ants, for example, when driven out of their nests by floods, gather themselves into balls and so save themselves, the individuals that formed the lower layer on which as a raft the rest float to safety, alone being drowned. It is under the same impulse that the citizen in the face of a threatened war takes to arms.

That the instinct as manifested in man is not so well developed, has to be admitted. Besides the influence of reason which always weakens instinct, there is the class consciousness and its deleterious influence. We had an instance of this in the slogan of "Business as usual" that went forth during the War. It was no doubt in part born of the confidence that without any serious adjustments the war could be won, but at the back of it there was the implication that the classes would not merge even under the stress of war. When the early confidence gave way the cry ceased and classes joined hands in a common fraternity of endurance and sacrifice.

What is significant here is not that the

declaration was made, but that it was not resented by any one from the classes that stood to suffer most. Reason should have shown them what it meant. But reason has little or no influence on collective action of the kind. It is instinct, the subconscious, that is concerned more. The national flag and the national anthem, round which nationalism clusters and thrives, assist the development of nationalism not by any conscious sentiment they excite but by the sense of oneness fostered by the joint action of salutation or singing.

The same force is at work in smaller and less important fields, where its operation helps to facilitate united action. Because of it fashions catch on in spite of the expense and inconvenience caused by them. I have seen piteous wails in newspapers from women against new designs in shoes put on the market by venturesome shoe-makers. What makes people submit to fashion which, as in the case of the shoe, is unsuitable or inconvenient or draws attention to parts of the body, which in the case of several are best not displayed, is for the most part due to the desire to retain identity with the rest. Hence the sudden rage in a special

affectation of dress; hence, too, the disappearance of it as suddenly.

The passion for the details of life of the great men in the community, which may appear to many to be morbid and perverted, is to be explained on the same principle. It is a satisfaction for the common people in a democratic country to know that their leaders, far removed from them in point of wealth or intellectual eminence, have still in them the frailties and foibles such as may be found among humbler folk. That Balfour has a passion for golf or Baldwin cannot get along without his pipe, is therefore an information welcome to them. The rooms in which Mary Pickford lived in New York before she became the queen of film-land, were shown to sight seers who appeared to me to take more than ordinary interest in them.

The refusal of people of one nationality to replace their customs and habits with others however excellent, borrowed from another nation, is born of the fear that there may arise confusion in the marks of common identity. This prejudice, for very often it is one, is stronger between peoples who have many points of resemblance. There is so much in common between the British and

the Americans that what there is of difference is maintained and sometimes deliberately accentuated.

There are many methods employed to develop and perfect the instinct. The pride in one's own country and in the achievements of one's own race is sedulously cultivated in the schools where the achievements of the nation or individual heroes among them are described in glowing and impressive language and a veil is discreetly thrown over the darker side. The supreme test of all acts and achievements is national welfare, and ways and means, however questionable, are not analysed over much. Defeats sustained in war are often suppressed or glossed over in standard text books.

The newspapers are another powerful agency. When concerted action is necessary they help to call it forth. I recall, as I write, a leading article in one of the important dailies in San Francisco, commenting on the exceedingly favourable impressions which alone Einstein, the world famous mathematician, had chosen to give in the course of an interview about the United States after a short visit to the country. I regret I have lost the cutting for I am likely

to do serious injustice to the talented editor if I tried to reproduce his words, but they were to the effect that Einstein was too shrewd a person to have missed the darker side of American civilization, that, nevertheless, he had only a word of good cheer to America showed that his heart was in the right place and so "Cheerio Einstein". I can well imagine that the impulse of every American reader on reading that article must have been to join in the exclamation of the editor. In comments like these, what the editors achieve is to quicken into life the right impulse, which without such assistance may remain vague and inert and fail to express itself.

In conversation too the parties very often go straight down to the common basis. It may be all piffle unrelieved by humour, and it may go on until to the stranger it is past all endurance. Nevertheless, there is so much roused of the same feelings and emotions, so much of mutual forbearance or tolerance shown in avoiding topics not congenial to any one, that those who engage in it part to meet again on better terms than before.

The strength of the herd instinct may be measured by the extent of the unreasonable-

ness very often involved in it. The death penalty inflicted on Edith Cavell, heroine as she was and as heroic at that as any the War produced, was, however, no more than what she deserved ; no more than what the English would have inflicted under similar circumstances. Yet in the wave of indignation that swept over the British, her execution was represented as a murder. It was equally unreasonable during the War to have cast unjust suspicions on a statesman and an admiral who had each to his credit a life of devoted service to the Crown.

The instinct is not strong in all. The conscientious objector during the war may be dismissed as an absurd contradiction. In him the inconvenient half of the instinct is suppressed. The politician or statesman shares in it only to employ it to the advancement of himself and his country. It is strongest among the middle classes. It is weakest (I speak from limited experience) among University Professors. If that be so, it is just as it ought to be, for there is more leisure for reflection there and passing events are viewed in broader perspective. The critical analysis tends to purify the instinct of the grosser elements and prevents

its cruder manifestation, but those who do this service for the community do so by weakening it among themselves.

That herd instinct is the main ingredient in nationalism is nowhere more clear than in the relations between one nation and another. Every nation holds another suspect until the contrary is proved. The possibility of encroaching or interfering in the rights of one leads to a whole crop of suspicion and misunderstanding, and the wildest stories may be credited and action taken. When the relations between one nation and another are those of rulers and the ruled, the instinct is at its worst. The members of the ruling class are drawn together much closer than in their own country. Lapses from moral standards are more easily forgiven and offences, however great, against members of the subject race are glossed over or left unpunished, while all acts on the part of the latter which may weaken the sense of security of the rulers are punished with extreme severity. The conviction that the individual will have always the support, open or tacit, of his brethren steels his nerve in offences which, committed in his own country, would have called forth universal condemnation.

The ground is prepared for these wholly indefensible relations by the circulation of stories which bring into sharp contrast the better qualities of the ruling race and the worse ones of the ruled, both highly exaggerated to make the contrast more striking. If no vice, no criminality of the ruled is beyond belief, there is no virtue which the rulers do not arrogate to themselves. We have instances in India of the circulation in European clubs of stories of humiliation to which arrogant subalterns subject Indian Princes and other notables. So I heard in Egypt numerous stories illustrating the serious weaknesses of Egyptians and in the United States others which make out the Negro to be almost one of the lower animals. The wide currency of these in normal times tends to keep the sense of racial superiority alive in the consciousness to ensure correct behaviour.

In dwelling almost exclusively on nationalism as a case of herd instinct, I should not be understood as denying or belittling the importance of the conscious part, which helps to develop the subconscious part and gives it direction. The subconscious and the conscious act and react on each

other and it is often difficult to say in a particular act, whether of the individual or of a nation as a whole, where one begins and the other ends. In the selection of appropriate anecdotes of national heroes for children's text books, in throwing a veil over the darker side of their character in histories and biographies, there is more of conscious nationalism. So also in devising means for increasing national security and national efficiency, in picking out for criticism and suppression unhealthy elements in national life, there is reflection on what nationalism stands for.

The more nationalism is developed by these means on the lines it is being developed in the West the more narrow will be the outlook, the more limited the understanding, the more rigid the national boundaries; the more there will be of suspicions and jealousy of other nations. Unless nationalism in the West shifts emphasis from economic interests to something more ethical, it will make for discord as it has in the past—discord more dangerous to it and to the world at large, both because of the increasing perfection of organisation and discipline, and of the prostitution of science to the brute in man.

GOVERNMENT

THERE have been glimpses of the character of Western government in several places in the course of the previous chapters. It was seen that as an organisation it was not large or powerful enough to embrace and subordinate other organisations within the State and regulate their activities; and that as supreme authority it failed to rise above popular sentiment, as for example in regard to the lynching of the Negro; and that being controlled by whichever interests that happen to be dominant for the moment, it is worked in furtherance of those interests, too often at the sacrifice of the wider interests of the people as a whole. These are aspects of one and the same problem. In a later chapter, when dealing with the historical development of Western Governments, these serious limitations will be traced back to their source; but for the present it may be stated that, having transferred the government to themselves, the people are not yet fully agreed as to who should share in it, whether the people as a whole or only certain classes.

United as they were in wresting the power from the King, they are yet by no means agreed as to an equitable or equal distribution of it. We have witnessed a somewhat similar phenomenon in the history of European Christianity, in the protestants not being able to agree among themselves as to the religion that should be substituted for Roman Catholicism. Similarly the class that first appropriated political power to itself found itself opposed to another which was formed to claim a share, and these have had to fight others for a similiar reason.

From the very start parties were formed to appropriate to themselves and retain the functions of government to further their own interests with the help of that power. The rivalry of parties in the State is, for all the high-sounding names of some of them, a rivalry of interests rather than of principles. The party in power is so far mindful of the interests of the voters as to be able to command a majority at the next election, and dare not take action too far ahead of the prevailing sentiment of the community. With these limitations, it follows programmes and policies which further its interests. If it goes too far it is defeated by the opposing

party, which comes to power with aims as definite in the direction of its own particular interests. These arrangements tend to emphasise rather than reconcile divergencies of interests, and reduce the struggle for power to the narrow outlooks, prejudices and passions of a squabble.

The government passing, as it does, into the hands of the party that commands the greatest number of voters at election, each of the parties is compelled to organise and increase its resources, announces its policies and programmes, and canvasses support for them by exercise of patronage, by speeches and pamphlets. Each party praises its own virtues and conceals its own vices, but is loud in the condemnation of the vices of other parties and silent about their merits. Each appeals to the self-interest, passions and prejudices of the less intelligent among the voters. The promise of places and pensions, the pressure on employees through their heads in factories and offices, entertainments and receptions are among the methods employed to capture their votes.

There is thus very little of the higher morality in the party system. The outlooks are narrow and the ideals low, the excitements

unhealthy, and the methods of doubtful moral value. But the hands of party leaders are usually clean. They are cleanest in England, where political power has been wielded for generations by men of position and wealth, who were therefore superior to the temptation of personal advancement and who helped to establish a healthy tradition of honest political leadership. In other countries, which have copied the English system recently, and where the descent of political power to the multitude has been more rapid, the safeguards against temptation are fewer and the methods of political propaganda and campaigning far more unscrupulous. The promise of votes by the thousand by corporations in return for legislation in their interests, has been occasionally made and accepted. Tammany Hall is by no means suppressed in the United States.

It is not to be expected that under a party system of this description there will be any wide political education. If one may judge from the presentation of political issues in the average newspaper, one cannot help thinking that political privilege in the West is far in excess of political comprehension. The average voter is far too busy to follow

political discussion, and, even if he had the time, is far too little equipped to understand its bearings. I was in the States at the time the entry into the League of Nations was being hotly discussed as an issue of the Presidential election. Not one of the many with whom I discussed about it, and some of them were University men who had made up their minds about their voting, showed any fair grasp of the subject. A catch-phrase or two, apparently obtained from the newspapers, was all they could give. That was perhaps too difficult a subject. But on the Japanese question, far simpler, few with whom I talked on the subject could give an idea of the extent and magnitude of the peril. An educated and intelligent lady had voted against Wilson for the sole reason that he was exclusive like an aristocrat.

The political education of the average voter is retarded and hindered by unscrupulous appeals to their passion and prejudice, which are the deciding factors, rather than intellect and judgment. There are appeals, occasionally, to the higher emotions as during the War, but they are vitiated by the sordidness of the interests which those appeals are really intended to advance and

which become revealed when the cause has triumphed. Even in those moments, during the War, when patriotism rose to such sublime heights that even its limitations were perceived, the baser arts were not neglected. Of the campaigns of vilification, misrepresentation and circulation of deliberate falsehoods, the allies were as guilty as the Germans. For all their defective comprehension, it is a tribute to the common people that they were susceptible to the higher emotions of personal sacrifice for national gain. The political leadership that nevertheless relied on appeals to the baser elements in human character for its success, deserves, therefore, all the greater condemnation.

It is well to let sleeping dogs lie. Passions and prejudices caused by the efforts of unscrupulous politicians often rise independent of them on occasions when they are dangerous, and then the politician who could raise a storm finds himself unable to produce the calm. Passions and prejudices are reprehensible at all times and if they are not so on certain occasions they may not be so on certain other occasions also. I cannot help thinking that the excesses committed against the Negroes and the Japanese are in

part the result of a misguided political education.

The treatment of the Negroes recalls to mind another serious defect of democracy. The Negro may not be rescued from lynching or a Negro riot suppressed without bloodshed involving the loss of many lives. White soldiers or policemen are not likely to take the responsibility of shooting down men, however guilty, who are of their own flesh and blood to save the lives of innocent Negroes who can claim no such kinship. They may prevent it by their presence or persuasion, but once the riot or the lynching has commenced—and they arrive too often after it—the order is not likely to be issued, and if issued not likely to be obeyed, that they should destroy white lives to save black ones.

In the test on this touchstone of racial or colour diversity, democracy fails. There are not yet any democracies in which two or more races with conspicuous differences are equal in citizenship and rights. The case of Switzerland is exceptional, and, even if it were not, the population is too far scattered and rural for any complex racial problem. In the case of Canada, there has been no

coalescence of the French and English yet. Each predominates in its province and by no means sees eye to eye with the other in the higher councils. In the States the anomalous position of the Negro liberated but not free, citizen by birth and by law; but not allowed to vote, has already been described. Even among the European races in the States, there has not yet been coalescence to the point of Americanisation, and hyphenated Americanism was rampant during the War. Since then the State has redoubled its efforts to Americanise them by every resource of education and training. But the Negro is out of it and must await the solution of the colour problem in the world as a whole.

It may seem strange that democracy, which has proclaimed equality of rights, should fight shy of colour. The complications of intermixture with coloured races have never entered into the calculations of democracy. The democracies of the City States were reared on a foundation of slavery, and, as already pointed out, the American colonists waxed eloquent over the rights of humanity while they trampled on the Negro slaves. The Magna Carta was intended for the

nobles, who had no thoughts of sharing the hard-won privileges with classes lower to them. The liberty and equality of citizenship in the West have always been for the class or classes who secured these privileges, and not for others. At each level in its downward course liberty has been bounded up, and nowhere so securely as at the colour line. The democracy of the West has at all times presupposed homogeneity of thought and feeling and culture, of which the best guarantee is a racial unity. The extermination or assimilation and absorption of distinct racial elements and the fierce persecutions of new sects that might make for differentiation were intended to preserve the harmony so necessary when governments were insecure. The animosity against the Jew, which breaks out on the continent in the horrors of the Russian pogrom and in a milder form even in England and the United States, is in part due to his preservation intact of his religion and social system and habits in the communities among whom he lives. The essence of democracy is individualism, and no people can be said to be fully democratic which has within its fold communities which will not merge or has individuals who may join

hands to form a distinct entity which is as persistent.

On close analysis this limitation will be found to proceed from the danger of providing equal opportunities to those who do not want to be equal. The main function of a democracy is the preservation of equal opportunity for all. In the dynamic character of a democratic constitution, a bricklayer may become the President or the Prime Minister, or a farm labourer a financier. These transformations do not matter if the President or the financier felt himself as one of the community. But they become a serious danger if they are members of a distinct community with exclusive interest, for they may use the enormous powers conferred on them to the advancement of the special interests of that community to the prejudice of the interests of the people as a whole. The exclusive attitude of Western democracies and the difficulties of coloured races to gain equal status in a White Empire, are traceable to these insecurities.

A still more serious limitation of democracy arises from the dependence, not always realised, on the opportunity for advancement and progress. The growth of modern

democracies dates, it will be recalled, from the time the European countries began to establish colonies. With the limitless resources of land and mineral wealth in the newly discovered lands, drawn together by common sufferings and hardship in the mother country and in their new homes, the colonists could develop and perfect better the ideas of democracy, and adventurers of the 16th and 17th centuries returning home loaded with wealth, had the power and the means to secure status in better accord with their altered position and so make the frame-work of society more elastic.

The opportunities which the colonies afforded drew away by the thousands the more adventurous and the less favoured from their mother country. If they had stayed in the country, democracy might not have been the same as it is to-day. For one thing the classes would have become rigid, for opportunities for each class are limited in an old country, and the upward movement from the lower orders, now happily weakened by emigration, would have been resisted by an increased rigidity of the social frame-work, which might finally have ended in absolutism. The only alternative is socialism, in which

the democratic spirit may continue in spite of restricted opportunities. In a socialistic state the opportunities are not graded according to class but pooled together, and there are no superior opportunities or equipment for any class to tempt it to retain them for itself.

It is significant, in this connection, that the more democratic countries are precisely the countries which have an abundance of material progress either at home or in the colonies and those others not so fortunate are away behind. America and England lead, and Holland comes next. Italy, Portugal, Spain and Russia come last. The reversal of this order from the stand-point of socialism is even more striking. The greater number of socialists are found precisely in those countries whose opportunities for colonial expansion are less and where, therefore, as pointed out, the upper classes are more rigid and exclusive. The progress of democratic ideas is, therefore, bound to take the form of socialism or communism on the one hand, or absolutism on the other in those countries. If the analysis is correct the advance of democracy in the West on its present lines has well-defined limits. Democracy is bound to change

in spirit and form as the world becomes filled and as the colonies put increasing restriction on emigration and as the exploitable wealth of the world diminishes. The stream of migration from Europe has but to be thrown back by restrictions in the colonies and in the East for it to receive a serious check, and for profound reactions to set in at home. However, that is a long way off yet. Before that happens it is likely that European States will have become socialistic. The progress of democratic ideas does not square with the tendencies of capitalism. One seeks equality of opportunity, and the other seeks the opportunity of inequality. With the vote descending to the classes who suffer from that inequality, the likelihood is that the State will be turned socialistic to do away once for all with capitalism.

These considerations emphasize the fact that democracy does not represent the last word in government. It is dependent on many factors in the absence of which it cannot be brought into being or thrive. It is appropriate to societies which are dynamic in character. It has not solved racial animosities. Indeed it has to prove its adaptability to heterogenous communities. It has on it

the drag of the multitude. It has no moral grandeur, no high conceptions of duty above or independent of those of the community. It makes for unhealthy excitement and adopts immoral methods. It respects and glorifies the individual, but sharpens his selfishness, weakens his understanding and limits his outlook.

But it is a stage in the progress onwards, appropriate to the present scramble and struggle. When these cease, as they are bound to cease, and the march becomes steadier, slower and more orderly, the form and spirit of government will change not by itself or of itself, not by any intrinsic worth it has, but by the changing needs of man.

IMPERIALISM

NOWHERE is the true character of Western democracies more clearly revealed than in Imperialism. True democracy is irreconcilable with subordination to it of populations to whom citizenship is denied. Yet almost every power in Europe has vast territories in Africa and in the East as dependencies of this description. If there are still countries left which are not annexed, they are, with the exception of Japan, more or less under their domination, and have not been parcelled out because the Powers cannot agree upon a division satisfactory to all parties.

It is too late in the day to talk of this overflow as the white man's burden. The burden of white domination is far rather on the shoulders of the black, the brown and the yellow. The logic of events has been too penetrating for camouflages of this description. The civilising influences flowing from the kindly attentions and genial presence of the white man are influences, whether by design or not, making for disturbance,

disintegration and dissolution of the economic and social systems to which the subordinated peoples are accustomed, to draw them to the whites in helpless bondage.

Some of the processes arising from the contact of races and civilisations are as inevitable as the diffusion currents ensuing from the mixing of fluids of different densities. American Indians succumb sooner to syphilis and consumption than the White races, from whom the diseases first spread to them. The movement of big game in Africa, following their disturbance from the vicinity of European settlements, introduces sleeping sickness into areas which are free from it. Nor is the dominant race to be blamed if, on the one hand, the qualities which brought it to that position have to be and are preserved, and if, on the other hand, those of the weaker race tend to deteriorate from demoralisation, from the hindrances to their free and legitimate exercise and from the imitation of the vices of the stronger race. There is no method, so far known, of divesting racial contacts of these one-sided evils. To that extent Western Imperialism must be absolved from blame. But behind the poll tax, the destruction of hunting dogs of certain

African tribes whose subsistence depended on them, the insistence on license for trade, behind the hundred other devices which have been resorted to under one pretext or another, there is the set purpose of limiting and hindering the progress of indigenous populations and harnessing their energies for the advancement of the White man settled among them. Even in a country like China, which has its own government, the privileges which the European Powers have wrung from it are such as to put the China-man at a serious disadvantage in his competition with the European trader and render Chinese business enterprise difficult. No scruples of humanity are in the way when smaller units of population or territory are concerned where the scarcity of the White settlers and the requirements of hand labour alone prevent resort to methods of rapid extermination.

The truth is modern democracies have departed but little from their models, the City States of Greece and Rome. Those ancient democracies were reared on foundations of slavery: so have their modern representatives a similar foundation, cleverly disguised under modern forms and formulae

in keeping with modern ideas, but in spirit little different. There is little to choose between the helots in Rome and Greece and the indigenous populations of several of the dependencies and colonies. In some respects, indeed, the comparison is in favour of the helots for some of the slaves in those ancient days rose to power and influence far above those of the common citizen. The lapse of centuries and the so called progress of humanity, it would appear, have but rendered clear the precise requirements of continued domination, and enabled the West to confine the shackles to more vital parts and remove them from others, to weaken the sense of bondage without damaging its reality.

The taint of exploitation of weaker races is common to all important democracies. There are some Americans who condemn British Imperialism as though the United States were innocent of it. They are certainly less imperial, but the tendency is unmistakably there. The Hawaiian Islands are now part of the United States. The native population has all but disintegrated and it will not take many decades for their final disappearance. The independence of the Philippines is not granted yet, and, even

if granted, is likely to be fettered by serious limitations. Some of the Islands of the West Indies are dominated politically and financially, and in one of them great cruelties have been perpetrated on several hundred natives by American Navy men. Half the revolutions in Mexico are said to have been financed by American oil interests there. There is an American Congo. In the transactions relating to the Panama canal with Columbia, compromising the honour and dignity of the States, the motive was imperial; and there is imperialism behind the Monroe Doctrine. If the United States have not yet embarked on a definite and declared policy of imperial expansion, there are still limitless resources in the United States themselves, which afford the Americans all the opportunity they need for material progress. The country has but a fifth of the population it can easily contain. The democracies of Switzerland and Denmark, occupying small territories and mainly agricultural and in specially favoured circumstances, do not affect the truth of the general proposition that Western democracies, as constituted at present, have a tendency towards imperial expansion.

Modern imperialism, if anything, is capitalistic imperialism. It is a movement to secure the use of capital in foreign countries, unfettered by obstructions of indigenous interests. The invention of machinery has, as has been explained elsewhere, resulted in the accumulation of capital, and capital seeks investment. The large output of manufactured goods and agricultural produce, which machines have rendered possible, far in excess of home requirements, have to be sold abroad, and competition between rival nations for markets and for raw material, leads to annexation where that is possible, and to the establishment of exclusive privileges where annexation is not possible. Where territories are under the flag, political power is used to create facilities of law and order, that render the varied processes of exploitation secure from the entanglements of indigenous interests and rivalries, which the White Settlers have neither the time nor the inclination to study and avoid by fair means. The West governs so that it may exploit. Benefits, if there are from its rule, are usually accidental, and, if of deliberate design, intended to camouflage the real process.

The expansion beyond the seas has reached a stage when the nations are ranged almost in opposition. The progress of invention, discovery and organisation, hastened by fierce competition, renders expansion inevitable, but the areas of the world are limited and a great deal of it is owned or under the domination of Britain. There is little room to expand for other nations, for whom as a result of organisation, invention and better research, expansion becomes a necessity. The Great War was the direct result of the necessity which the Germans felt for expansion and of the jealousy caused by their progress. By judicious alliances the balance of power may be maintained, but it may give way at any moment so long as national interests predominate to the exclusion of the interests of humanity as a whole. It is not the world that has to be made safe for democracy, as President Wilson wanted. It is democracy that has to be made safe for the world.

Nor is it altogether impossible that the pressure of the West may yet introduce sufficient coherence and harmony in the East among its units, in spite of the efforts of the West to the contrary, and result in the re-

pudding if not the overthrow of the West. More than two-thirds of the population of the world are in the East and they multiply rapidly while the rate of increase in the West is slowing down. The higher standard of living to which the West is accustomed may prove another circumstance in favour of the East, where human needs are far simpler and endurance greater. Nor is the high organisation and the close interdependence of parts always an advantage against people more or less loosely knit together. The animal world furnishes numerous instances of animals more highly evolved, proving unequal both as individuals and as species in the struggle with lower types. Even though the analogy drawn from species is not quite applicable to the sub-divisions of a species, it is nevertheless true that organisations requiring delicate adjustments are liable to have their balance more easily upset than others which are organised on simpler plans. In the Boer War, the higher organisation of the British found it difficult to adapt itself to the guerilla tactics of the Boers. As the East awakens to national consciousness and tries to throw off the domination of the West, it is likely that it will take full advantage of these

circumstances of numerical superiority, simpler needs and simpler organisation.

A West exhausted by national war and falling a prey to the East, or an East devitalized and shackled by the West would permanently incapacitate and cripple the world. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the progress of human thought and discovery will prevent a calamity so colossal. The Great War has set many heads thinking in the West, which may lead to an examination of the basis and philosophy of Western progress, and the scepticism of the East, amazed by the West, yet always mistrusting it, is now confirmed into a conviction, and it is fast preparing for a final repudiation of Western leadership. The world is fast outgrowing the limited outlooks and interests of nationalism, and classes who suffered most in the War are no longer prepared for so one-sided a sacrifice. From these various sources proceed forces which, if carefully husbanded, may make for a world harmony.

It may be long before that final consummation is reached. It will speed up the day if, in the meanwhile, the cruel philosophy underlying imperialism, which sustains and justifies it, is exposed. It has not been suffi-

ently realised, as it ought to be, that Darwin is the prophet of modern imperialism. The struggle for existence and the extermination of the weak and the unfit, which Darwin enunciated as a law governing the evolution of animal forms, has been applied to man to justify the varied processes by which alien populations have been exterminated or reduced to serve the purposes of the West, to the sacrifice of their independent life and culture. It may be pointed out that the analogy from lower animals cannot have but the most limited application, if at all, to man, precisely because he has ceased to be animal and released himself to a large extent from forces which govern progress in the animal world. In his tribal laws and customs, his marriage, his family affections, in his religious instincts, Hospitals and Asylums, he has deliberately ignored or defied them.

It is becoming increasingly clear, furthermore, that the so-called struggle for existence is more a struggle against the physical conditions of life than a struggle of species and individuals within a species. In that struggle, what counts is equipment at the start of life rather than what is acquired afterwards. The survival of the more efficient and

better equipped and more adaptable in nature, is through character inherited rather than acquired. Animals low down in the scale of evolution living in societies, are characterised by co-operation and harmony, and in none of them may be seen the discord and struggle characteristic of human society. In any case, there is no parallel in nature for groups of individuals dominating or destroying other groups within the limits of the same species.

The differentiation of man into races suited to the varying environments in different parts of the world, is quite consistent with nature. What is wholly against nature, and ultimately futile if the lessons of nature are true, is the spread of the same race from one corner of the earth over the entire face of the world, over regions not adapted to it where, therefore, it can have but a precarious hold, where it must alter or degenerate, at any rate eventually differentiate beyond identity from the parent stock. Indeed the descendants of Portuguese and Spanish settlers in South America are exhibiting the phenomenon of racial degeneration to-day.

Nor need there be a struggle. The conception of a struggle for existence said to

have been derived from a study of nature was really born of a study of man. It originated with Malthus, from a study of the abnormal conditions precipitated by the rapid change of England from an agricultural to an industrial country and the consequent congestion and poverty of large classes. The calamities which he foresaw of reproduction out-running production have not yet taken place even after the lapse of a century. The cultivable area of the world is even now wide, and will remain long adequate to the needs of its population. If selfish nationalism would but release for cultivation what it holds now uncultivated for future needs, the menace of starvation which threatens a few of the races would disappear at once.

The application of science, furthermore, tends distinctly towards a reversal of the rates of increase in production and population. On the one hand, the increase in production which Malthus believed to be in the arithmetical progression is, as a result of the application of Science, inclining towards geometrical progression, while in the more highly civilised countries, on the other hand, the multiplication of population through birth-control and the application of preventives

is slowing down from a geometrical to an arithmetical ratio.

The struggle for existence in the animal world, such as it is, is believed to lead to the formation of a new species. That struggle is too limited, too modified, in man, to lead to that result. And even if the struggle could be made as keen, the impulse derived for the formation of a new species, something, of course, more than a superman, would be weakened by the interference of reason and intellect. The evolution of man dominated by reason can never be the same as the evolution of animals dominated by instinct.

The successful in the struggle have, more often than not, failed to eliminate the unsuccessful, who continue to form part of it exerting unwholesome influences on the better stocks. Indeed, latter-day humanitarianism tends more and more to preserve in society the degraded elements which should be removed for society to derive the full benefits of success. If the elimination of the unfit, so vital a factor in the Darwinian conception of progress, has not been possible as between classes which compose a nation, it is far less possible between nations, still

less so between East and West. The populations of the East are far too preponderating for the West to exterminate them, and a domination by the West to the point of a wholesale slavery of the East would but repeat all over again on a world scale the history of ancient Greece and Rome.

The colour bar which the Whites sedulously interpose between themselves and the coloured races whom they bring under political subjection, precludes the possibility of any of the healthy reactions which redeem in some degree the subjugation of one White race by another. The Nordic races which constituted themselves a top-layer of European society came to be too much part and parcel of the people to produce any permanent debasement of the classes they ruled. The coloured races are threatened, on the other hand, with a domination which is detached and impersonal, and, therefore, without those live and healthy contacts, the give and takes, which alone make the personal ascendancy of a class honourable and not humiliating or degrading. The struggle thus forced on them tends to antagonise rather than reconcile, it brutalises

the White and debases the coloured, and paves the way for a final conflict in which one or the other of the parties must submit to the will and to that extent become a drag on the progress of the other.

There are other forces at work tending to a change in the methods and ideals of Imperialism. The position of dependent peoples in the East is much the same as that of classes in Western countries excluded from citizenship. There is the same misuse of political power in the interests of exploitation, the same denial of citizenship, much the same oppression. And these will produce, as they are producing, the same movement towards equality of rights and privileges which in western countries has brought liberty to the majority of the population. The Whites may succeed for a time in checking these movements, but as the more thoughtful and far-seeing among them are perceiving, they will have to yield ultimately before the pressure of superior numbers and the successful imitation of Western methods of warfare. One is therefore justified in the hope that the exclusive exploiting Imperialism is but a stepping stone to a family of nations drawn together by sentiment rather

than interest, in which the weaker members will be assisted rather than obstructed in their attempts to maintain their cultural individuality and to seek self-expression.

THE GREAT WHITE WAR

THE consideration of the problem of Imperialism would not be complete without a reference to the Great War which was its logical consequence. The War had been over nearly six months when I left India, and there was not much to be seen to realise the magnitude of the cataclysm. There was still a sprinkling of the khaki uniforms in crowds at dinners and dances. There were soldiers to be seen who had lost one or other of their limbs. The scarcity of food was rapidly beginning to cease. In the better class hotels in Italy, sugar was still being rationed. In England, margarine was still served in hotels and restaurants, and the oils for seasoning were apparently of the class of engine lubricants. In the United States there was no lack of any kind though prices still ruled high. This is the experience of a traveller hurrying along, fairly well provided with funds. What sufferings there were in the lower orders of the population, what the privations and deprivations were, could not

be noticed by a traveller in the course of a hurried tour.

The evidence of war, which was most impressive, was the devastations caused by it. I went to Rheims to see something of it. I saw the famous Cathedral. It was a sad sight. Yet as I looked at the enormous rents in the ceiling, the fragments heaped up, the statuary disfigured, and the whole interior pale with the light streaming through, I could not help thinking that this wanton destruction was richly deserved, for was it not the French who burnt down the Summer Palace in Peking, far richer in artistic treasures? The agent of vandalism, not many decades ago, is now the victim of it. But even that reflection could not long keep back the pain with which I saw the havoc round. Towers shot off, roofs and ceilings with huge rents having jagged edges, broken walls in many fantastic shapes, *debris* heaped up in corners along streets and lanes, the whole aspect recalled vividly to my mind the ruins of Pompeii I had seen but a month before.

Several buildings were being repaired, and the mud plaster contrasted strangely with the white of the walls. It will take many years before Rheims will be what it was

once. From the town I was taken to the battlefields. I saw the famous 'Hill 106', now no longer a hill but a huge excavation where 12,000 soldiers are said to have been blown to fragments by the switch of an electric button. I saw holes by the hundreds which shells had made in the ground as they descended. I saw the barbed wire entanglements in many places torn off, but formidable even then, and, lastly, I saw the trenches subterranean, dark, forbidding, the sides buttressed with rough-hewn logs, many of them now dislodged from their places, and jutting out at all angles, and the dark floor ploughed up into hard lumps by Heaven knows what.

As I felt my way half-choked by the oppressive air within, my mind's eye tried to picture the endurance and sufferings to which the trenches were witness. There the soldiers must have stood for days knee deep in the slush below zero degree, bespattered with blood and mud, for interminable hours waiting for relief that never came or seemed never to come. Death and destruction around and death within, the cold, the fear that any moment may be the last, must have made life there an ordeal such as was never within the experience of mankind.

One would think that a calamity so recent would have a chastening effect on Europe, but one failed to notice any in those aspects of life which a traveller is likely to see. The theatres, shows, exhibitions and dancing halls were crowded. These might have been the natural rebound from the tribulations and anxieties of an exhausting war, and the natural abandon of hard-won victory. But in conversations and in the writings and speeches, one sought in vain for any change in outlook or difference in viewpoint.

The exaggerated self-importance of nationalism was very far from being toned down. The process, on the other hand, appeared to have already commenced, in every one of the allies, of magnifying its own share in the war and of diminishing its responsibility for the blunders. Some Americans thought the most impossible things about the part their army played in the war in Europe.

The more advanced countries of Europe had all adopted one common principle of national organisation and advance, which was bound to lead to Imperial expansion, and in that expansion Germany had no need to

be troubled with a conscience any more than England or France was before her, or all the Powers when Africa was partitioned in the eighties of the last century. This was a process of reasoning which seemed foreign to the mentality of the victorious allies. It need hardly be said that a clear perception of this truth is the first step towards a better orientation of European politics. In the absence of it, the war cannot be said to have achieved anything more than the prevention of a military autocracy over Europe. That is an achievement hardly proportionate to the sacrifice, for Europe had to be saved from herself more than from Germany.

If the out-looks and ideals of Europe had not changed for the better, those of the soldiery that went through the horrors appear to have changed for the worse. They were for five interminable years in the presence of the naked reality in all its nerve-shattering horror. No tribute is too high for the strength and heroism with which they went through the ordeal, all the more so because they do not seem to have had as a class the sustaining influence of a strong faith in God. National anthems and 'Tipperaries' and the plaudits of the multitude carried the

individual soldier far, but only up to a point. In the theatre of War, face to face with the monstrous engines of destruction, the soldier's last refuge should have been his Maker and what relation had he with Him in times of peace, to secure His shelter and support amidst the havoc of shot and shell, and having gone without it during those moments when the need for it is greatest, he began to question His agency in human affairs, and then His very existence. So from indifference to doubt and from doubt to repudiation. That at any rate seems to have been the mental process of the soldiers, with whom I talked on the effect of war.

If there was no thought of God, there was little too of the idealism which has been the redeeming feature of most wars in the past, and which is necessary to prevent unwholesome reactions arising from the untold sufferings man causes unto man and man endures from man. The vastness of the organisation, its machine-like working and subordination of parts to the whole, was destructive of all idealism, and the survivors emerged from the war, far worse than they went into it, worse for their reduction to the level of automata, worse for

the suppression of the sense of common humanity, and worse for the sights they had witnessed there.

How far the allies were from the ideals of world harmony was seen in the scramble at the Peace Table. Of the League of Nations, the only tangible fruit, there is little to be said in favour and much against. That it will make for minor adjustments among the more powerful members and facilitate their bargaining is certain. But that the weaker members will get justice at its hands is very much to be doubted. It is likely to be the instrument of the strong rather than the support of the weak. But its worst feature is that it gives a legal status to nationalism, which had not received so substantial a recognition from the world and which it ought not to have received at a time when the world was fast out-growing it. What was being arrogated till now has been conceded.

So Europe emerged from the War impoverished and exhausted. The world will not be quite the same for her. Much of its beauty and harmony will have passed from it for her, nor will life be the same. The callous waste of life has diminished the sanctity of

life which cannot be any longer a trust but a possession. And yet Europe, dishevelled and battered, is upon her legs and mechanically going forward on the same road again unmindful of the horrors she has passed but vaguely apprehensive of more to come.

HISTORICAL

THE analysis that I have attempted has progressed so far that the line of evolution along which the West has proceeded, already dimly indicated in the previous chapters, may now be traced more clearly. Of the several factors that have determined the direction of progress, the earliest and perhaps the most important is the influence of climate. Nature was rigorous in her demands and meagre in her gifts in the West. The necessities of life were many and they were not easily obtained. The little that man could secure he had to keep for himself and could not share with his neighbour. He had to provide against a long winter. The need for clothing was great and a shelter against biting winds and cold and snow had to be provided. He had to eat highly nutritious food to provide against the loss of heat from the body. The cold climate made exertion wholesome rather than irksome, for bodily activity made circulation vigorous and generated warmth.

In scarcity man is inclined to appropriate,

in abundance to share. When the hardier races of northern Europe, subjected to more rigorous conditions, were attracted by the comparative plenty of the South and proceeded in that direction, they were out to destroy rather than to reconcile, for, not accustomed to share, they could not think of any arrangements in which the conquered peoples would be partners or sharers. The defeated were left only the alternatives of slavery or death. Struggles were fierce in proportion to the severity of the alternative. The more fierce the struggle and the more destructive and decisive it was, the greater was the sense of right. The influence of urban life emphasized the same sense. Towns tend to individualise and intellectualise. The contact of man in town is with man rather than with nature. Nature is a mother kind alike to all. She has no dislikes and prejudices. She sends no one away empty-handed who has approached her for a gift. The passions of man do not produce corresponding reactions in her. The relations of man with man are different. The behaviour of one towards another tends to produce a similar behaviour in the latter. Hatred produces hatred, love produces love; passion makes

for passion. Unlike the village, where the inhabitants are few and have grown up known to and familiar with one another, the towns have a much larger population. One may meet in the course of the day many strangers whose character is unknown but with whom, nevertheless, one may have to deal. One has, therefore, to be circumspect, and to judge a man's character, so far as he can make out, from his manner and appearance, and adopt expressions and language which may not correspond with actual feelings. A man's circle of acquaintance is not determined by neighbourhood but by choice and inclination. His relations with others tend to be governed rather by intellect than by emotion. In the high pressure at which life has to be lived in towns, in its more crowded activities and more frequent excitements, man has to think more of himself than of others, in other words, of his rights rather than his duties. The pressure of town life tends thus to resolve the unit of society, however large, to its ultimate element, the individual. Custom is inadequate to govern the frequent and unexpected changes in human relations, and law by edict or convention has to supplement or supersede

it. Customary law represents growth more continuous, and therefore adjustment to changing needs is more gradual and imperceptible. Conventional law has to do with larger dislocations perceived or apprehended, and is therefore created by more conscious effort. The change from country to town thus involves a transition from communalism to individualism, from customary law to conventional law, a shift of emphasis from a sense of obligation to a sense of right, a movement from status to contract.

These transitions are inevitable whether in the East or the West. In the history of the ancient City States of Greece and Rome we may trace all these phenomena, the inroads made into the rights of the *Pater familias*, the growth of the freedom of women, the frequent introduction of new laws and the movement from status to contract. In these States the impulse towards individualism was further strengthened by the presence of a large slave population and by the exclusion from citizenship of large sections of the population perpetually on the watch for opportunity to break down the barrier. The relations between master and slave have few elements of permanency,

especially under the stress of individualism. The master is weakened in the long run by the service he obtains, becomes jealous and brutalised, and the slave is never reconciled to his position, watches for his opportunity to escape and better his condition. The slave was chattel and could be killed at the pleasure of the master. He had no position in law. There could be no permanent reconciliation to a position so intolerable. Political necessity, such as threatened invasions, compelled the release of large numbers, from time to time, to freedom and even to power. But the principle that citizenship may be denied to classes in the community, even to such as are engaged in such important functions as military duty and production, became rooted never to be removed afterwards.

There remains still another factor of importance to be mentioned, which made for the organisation of society on the principle of right. The frequent wars of conquest which the Romans undertook gave far too many opportunities for indulgence in the acquisitive instinct of man and tended in no small measure to depress, if not atrophy, the sense of obligation. The wars, specially of

Republican Rome, were carried on by armies and citizens not on behalf of a king to further his personal ambition but in their own individual and collective interests, and therefore tended to sharpen the instinct.

We have, therefore, very early in the history of the West important features developing in the character of the individual and society collectively, some of them originating in and others traceable to the influences of city life, still others to the incidents of exclusive privileges; but all co-operating with and strengthening one another to make the individual the unit of society, and to develop in him an exaggerated sense of right. The course of European History, as will presently be seen, has been determined to no small extent by these important factors.

In the chaos that followed the dissolution of the Roman Empire, the feudal lords were the points round which law and order crystallised in Europe, and these, for the most part belonging to Germanic hordes who overthrew the empire, were careful to retain to themselves all the rights of the conquerors. They permitted the adoption of Roman law or of local custom and usage only so far as these did not interfere with those rights.

Land, the most vital to the needs of the people, was in their exclusive possession, and it was held by the cultivating classes on tenures analogous to those of helots and slaves; and in those troublous times even such land as was not theirs had to be surrendered to them for the sake of the protection they gave, and leased back from them.

In the absence of Kings or in their weakness, political authority as well as the power of the landlord centred in the feudal lord, and mutually strengthened each other to draw his vassals, tenants, and villeins in almost helpless dependence and entangle them more and more in the coils of his own power. One has but to go through the list of the services expected by them to understand the extent of that dependence. It would not be believed, were it not fully authenticated, that the French noble had the right, on return from a hunt in winter, of slaughtering no more than two of his dependents so that his cold feet might be warmed by placing them in the bowels of the victims. It is recorded too that a doctor attending on one of this class suffering from senile decay gave the horrifying prescription that he should

have a bath in the blood of infants. It is not necessary to suppose even for a moment, what indeed would be absurd, that any inhumanity of this blood-curdling character was widely prevalent among the feudal aristocracy, but for two of the nobles to have reached that unbelievable depth, the average level must have been very low. One has to realise the full extent of this brutality to understand with what oppression the common people in the West were weighted down. The feudal lord and dependants formed a close neighbourhood, and the life as lived around him, was so open to his scrutiny that he could bring his power to bear with crushing effect on almost every detail of it which was not to his liking or to his interest. The power of a King, however cruel and tyrannical, is too remote and impersonal to exert on his subject so heavy and uniform a pressure extending to the details of life as a feudal lord could with the facilities of personal contact that he had in his necessarily restricted area; and it was not political power alone that the feudal lord wielded. He was landlord, judge—civil and criminal—military leader, social head, all in one. From any point in that vast circum-

ference of authority which surrounded his dependant could proceed the force that might keep him down in that abject position.

No tribute is too high to the West for having survived a despotism so close and exacting. It is in part to be explained by the survival of parish life over which feudalism spread but as a top layer choking it and preventing its growth, it is true, but never completely wiping it out of existence. Ultimately, too, it may be traced to an ungovernability which is after all the bed-rock on which self-government is reared.

One has to realise fully the extent of this crushing weight of oppression to understand the passion for liberty so prominent a feature of the West. The movement towards liberty is so strong because it is a reaction from slavery, the spirit of independence so great because it is a rebound from dependence. Political history in the West is mainly concerned with release from this serfdom and bondage.

But the blow to feudalism came first from the Kings, to whom the presence of a network of independent principalities wielding political power, preying on one another and threatening to grow too powerful, created

dangerous insecurities, and who, therefore, took the earliest opportunity to divest them of that power. But feudalism had existed long enough to impart its features to European sovereignties. Indeed the Kings were feudal Lords once, or still held that position in regard to fiefs owned by them. It was inevitable, therefore, that they should think more of their rights than their duties as the feudal lords did before them. We have that narrow view in the motto of the English, King, "God and my Right", and the sayings of the French monarch *Après moi le deluge* and *L'etat c'est moi* are eloquent of even greater narrowness of royal out-look. Absolutism of this description could not long outlive the conditions which brought it into being. The King had destroyed the old aristocracy to create in its place an aristocracy dependent on him, without political power but with considerable social privileges and legal exemptions, and with influence at Court. What the Feudal baronage did of its own free-will and responsibility, the social aristocracy could do with the help of their influence on the King.

The creation of the new aristocracy was fatal to Kingship. It soon became in essence

an oligarchy. The worst form of Government, and the most oppressive, is an oligarchy. It has the virtues neither of Kingship nor of popular Government but the vices of both. The struggles of Western peoples were really against oligarchies rather than against kings. As long as power was wholly in the hands of a single individual, the inducements to oppression were limited by the personal interests and whims of a single individual, too far exalted above the people for those interests to come in serious or permanent conflict with the interests of the people as a whole. The despot usually rules his people with an eye to their material and moral welfare, and the enormous power he wields enables him to give proportion and balance to their progress as a whole, suppressing forces that are unwholesome and stimulating and guiding those that are beneficial. His laws are not usually designed to favour any special class at the expense of other classes, and his Government is usually not in the interests of any one party alone. His patronage is usually exercised in favour of individuals rather than of classes. So are his oppressions.

All this changed when the new aristo-

cracy began to share political power with the King. It multiplied the opportunities and widened the field for despotic excesses. The people had to sacrifice their interests, no longer to the wishes of one individual, but to those of many who had not the restraining influence that stayed the hand of the King. Privileges were exacted exclusively for them, and laws enacted in furtherance of their interests. It was inevitable that power so inhumanly exercised should be wrested from them at the first opportunity. But the class that first secured political power tried to use it in its own interests, until another class grew up, strong enough to claim a share, which in its turn was as exclusive and rigid. This terracing of the slopes to catch the waters of liberty and retain them at each successive level, has had its advantage in compelling each class, by organisation and political education, to fit itself for the exercise of political power. But it had the fatal defect of preserving and emphasising the ideal of political power as a right and not as a responsibility. Hence it happens that in the West liberty has been disfigured almost beyond recognition. From a Goddess, she has been turned into a mistress. For the

selfish use of it by one class made for a similar immoral use by the next class, until she is shorn to-day of all her higher attributes and bears many a mark of violence on her body, and has her garments tattered and torn.

The prostitution of liberty for the advancement of the interests of one class, at the sacrifice of the interests of other classes, is in the main the explanation for the strange anomalies and contradictions of Western history. Roman Catholics persecuting Protestants, Protestants taking their turn of revenge; Protestants fleeing from the country for liberty of thought, yet denying it in their new homes to others of a different persuasion; colonists breaking loose from the mother country and proclaiming equality, yet retaining the Negro as a slave; European nations worshipping liberty at home, yet trampling upon it abroad: what are these but the heritage of that misuse, at the start, of power as a right rather than as a duty?

How far the sense of right has superseded the sense of obligation, may be judged from the invasion of that idea even in the field of religion, the one field, at least, which one would consider too sacred from the encroach-

ment of that self-regarding and self-assertive sense. The transformations that Christianity had undergone in the eleventh century, from the time it was a fugitive religion whose votaries were thrown to hungry lions in Rome, pass almost beyond belief. During the twelve centuries, the Christian Priests had annexed to themselves so many rights and privileges, far greater than those of the highest aristocracy, and in violent discord with the spirit and tenets of Christian teaching, and fortified themselves in those rights and privileges by the invention of the most inhuman penalties to those who did not accept their authority or questioned the propriety of their luxurious and debaucherous habits, that the reaction came with the Reformation. Had they remembered the obligations they owed to the community as their spiritual heads, the luxuries and dissipations and the pursuit of political power which brought on finally their downfall, would have been impossible.

There can be no doubt, therefore, that European peoples were from early times familiar with individualism. The exercise of individualism or right is more appropriate to towns because it was born and cradled there.

The formation of towns under special charters and with special privileges, zealously guarded, which forms so striking a feature of European history, is of considerable interest in this connection. These Republican towns are said to be the true links that connect the ancient democracies with their modern representatives. So they are. But, in the present connection, their interest lies in the circumstance that they afforded a better field for the exercise of right and individualism. In the political confusion of mediaeval Europe, and the consequent necessity for despotic rule on the part of Kings and feudal lords, individualism could not find a receptive soil anywhere, and stood to perish. Those who had common interests, which they wanted to further in their own fashion without interference from the King, therefore joined together under special charters. These Republican towns of mediaeval Europe are like oil drops in water, which, failing to mix with the water, join together to form large globules.

The tendency of European nations to congregate in towns is quite in keeping with the requirements of individualism. The self-absorption and exercise of self-regarding

virtues are incompatible with the reciprocal services required to keep going a small permanent neighbourhood, such as rural communities are for the most part. But in the adoption over Europe of the law of Rome, there was involved the premature supersession of customary law suited to rural communities by the more refined individualistic law suited to the needs of urban populations. The irritations and dislocations arising from this anomaly could be redressed only by a rapid advance to individualism and urbanisation. The leanings towards a town life have always been strong in the West. The invention of machinery and the development of industry have but intensified it.

Born and cradled in the town, the most appropriate field for democracy is the town. If it has extended its range beyond the town to the limits of national boundaries, let us remember that so large a population as 50 to 95 per cent of the inhabitants in most of the highly democratic countries live in towns; that, in the country, urban standards have to a great extent replaced rural standards; and that facilities for transport and opportunities of frequent contact with towns-people have been multiplied and extended; and that a

large percentage of the people are literate. Nor should we forget that municipal life has been brought to a high pitch of efficiency and offers a wide field for the exercise of individualism. The machinery of election too has been perfected to secure the effective representation of interests in the councils of the nation.

We have thus from early times the predominance of the sense of right over the sense of obligation, of individualism over communalism. The course of European history has done little to reduce that predominance. Right through, political power has been used in the furtherance of self-interest. It seems certain, therefore, that it will be so used hereafter. When the lower orders of the population get the vote, as they are bound to do, they will use power so obtained to the advancement of their own interests as against those of the less numerous classes above them, in other words to redress those inequalities in society from which they suffer most.

EAST AND WEST

HAVING dealt with what I consider to be the more important features of the East and West and pointed out their historical development, I shall now proceed to indicate what appears to me to be the broad differences between East and West. The contrast between East and West is a subject of absorbing interest. To many it is fundamental, and there are no points of agreement at all; and that view has been crystallised in the well-known lines of Kipling, although it is very much to be doubted whether Kipling himself is of that opinion. The West believes in an unapproachable superiority, and misgivings are rare, even after the War; and the East is imitative, sceptical or hostile, and, where it is none of these, it recognises that the West represents no more than an advanced stage in the same line of progress as that of the East. Where convictions are so opposed and at the same time so deep rooted, it is difficult to effect harmony or reach an agreement.

A detailed examination of the problem is beyond the scope of this book, but I should

fail to make clear the conclusions of my study of the West if I did not dwell on the features which separate East and West. By contrast the characteristics peculiar to each are thrown into greater relief, and the reader would be able to ascertain more correctly what are mutually exclusive or grow at the expense of one another.

It is well to state once again, what I have emphasised at the outset, that while the greater development of one quality is usually at the expense of another, the latter is by no means suppressed. Man has had no multiple origins. What he had at the time of his appearance on the earth is there, wherever he happens to have been cast since and whatever his subsequent history. Determined by his environment, by the development of habits and customs appropriate to it, differentiation in his physical frame and mental qualities has proceeded. Whatever the differences now, produced thus by different sets of conditions, the ultimate elements are there to be discerned on careful search. Some have come to the surface in some races—others have gone under, not to be lost for ever but to come up again when appropriate circumstances arise. In other races the order

of subsidence and upheaval has been different. In a few still surviving, there has been no marked development of any quality, and they remain still scarcely differentiated from the original ancestor. These may take long to come up to the level of the more advanced races. But for others at a far higher level, the difference in emphasis on particular qualities or sets of qualities does not necessarily imply any superiority or inferiority. There can be no universal standard of excellence where the world is different and conditions vary. What makes for success in a particular environment, may bring on failure in another, and no one knows or is agreed as to what shall be called success and what failure. If mastery of the environment, instead of surrender to it, be considered the criterion, none can tell what constitutes mastery and what constitutes surrender, and mastery requires control to the extent of manipulation. A complete control of the environment being out of the question, how far has a race to control its environment for it to claim mastery? And is environment the physical and the animal world alone, or is it to include humanity as well? These are

difficult questions, in regard to which there has been no universal agreement between East and West. A comparison can further no common decision but may help each to determine for itself what it considers appropriate to its own development, and what sacrifices are involved in following its own line of progress.

The most important difference between East and West, what I consider fundamental, from which proceed all other differences, is in the governing principle of human relations. I have stated that in the West it is Right and have endeavoured to show how the sense of Right happened to be emphasized. For the East the principle has been Duty. In thus differentiating East and West, I am far from implying any opposition between Right and Duty, or that they are mutually exclusive. No society can thrive exclusively on the one or the other. But there may be difference in emphasis, which may give rise to profound differences in the constitution and texture of society. To understand these latter and follow them to their ultimate consequences, it is necessary to realise fully what is meant by Right and what by Duty.

A man's Duty is what he owes to others

and to himself. His Right is what others owe to him. In the one he has to consider what he has to do for others; in the other what others have to do for him. Duty makes him forgetful of self, Right regardful of it. In the discharge of Duty one is likely to meet with the good will and co-operation of those to whom the Duty is owed. In the exercise of Right the satisfaction is one's own, and one is likely to meet with opposition rather than co-operation. A person has to proceed with circumspection and forethought, lest he should exceed his Right and infringe on the rights of others, and he must have or acquire the resources successfully to assert them. These are, as is obvious, matters of the intellect of will and of discipline. Duty, on the other hand, develops the understanding. The satisfaction that one derives is usually dependent on the satisfaction which the discharge of the Duty brings to others. The relations established are of feeling and sentiment. Right is therefore exclusive, Duty inclusive. Right makes for the development of the intellectual faculties and of the will and for the establishment of legal relations. Duty develops the emotional side of human nature.

The difference between emotion and will as motives of action, needs to be considered in more detail. Emotion is less sustained and less continuous than will, is personal, from the heart and warm. Will is more persistent, is of the intellect, and therefore impersonal and cold. Will is disciplined and emotion is controlled. The actor who has to smile on the stage does so by the exercise of will. He does not seek the aid of emotion because it is with difficulty called forth to the requisite degree required. It is more apt to exceed requirements. With the assistance of will, the precise smile required can be produced. Self-control corresponds to the action of the brake, will of the gear which regulates.

Where emotion is the governing principle the virtues in greater perfection are of selflessness, charity, sympathy, hospitality, love, all those in fact in which the self is subordinated or suppressed. Family ties are strong and the individual dwells in the family rather than in the State. The State is usually monarchic, in which the King thinks more of his duties and behaves usually towards his subjects as a father. The relations in society are governed by

status of birth, office or age. Status implies that the rights of various communities are defined and fixed. On this basis alone can Duty be the governing principle. The acquisition of new Rights implies encroachment on the Rights of others, who already enjoy them or are sharing in them. The constant adjustment thus rendered necessary makes it impossible for the sense of Duty to prevail over the sense of Right.

When the dominating impulse is Will, the virtues emphasised and developed are more positive, as courage, self-reliance, efficiency, assertiveness and alertness. The understanding is narrow. The relations in society are governed by interest, and classes are formed on the basis primarily of interest. The individual is the unit of society. Self-interest is the dominant motive of progress, which is material rather than spiritual. Competition is keener, and under the stress of it family ties tend to dissolve away, and the individual, becomes hardened and self-reliant. He dwells rather in the State than in the family. Society is restive and dynamic. The State is usually self-governing.

From the standpoint of moral and spiritual progress, the society regulated by

duty is certainly on a higher level. But from the standpoint of material progress, the Society which exalts Right above Duty is higher. No society, however, can thrive exclusively on one principle alone. Duty, however selfless it may be, blossoms on a bed of well-established Rights, which are not called in question, and the Society which has no thought of Duty will become anarchical unless along with the perfection of one's Rights there is a perception of the Rights of others as well. The narrow conception of Right rooted and centred in self, may be gradually broadened so that the individual recognises the rights of his neighbours, of classes other than his own and of humanity as a whole. Duty embraces nothing higher. Similarly in regard to duty, the sense of it may be developed so far that the individual forgets or is not able to discharge what he owes to himself, and the class to which he owes a Duty may demand the discharge of it with the same insistence as of a Right. Duty degenerates into the worst form of Right if the discharge of it proceeds from no sense of obligation but because it is demanded as a Right. There is danger, therefore, either way, the way of Duty and

the way of Right. Right can develop into Duty and Duty degenerate into Right. If there appears to be an undue exaltation of Right in the West, let it be remembered that there is an endeavour to reach the conception of Duty through Right and if the conception of Duty has been high in the East, the stress of poverty, the mechanical regulations of status, have divested it of many of its ennobling and spiritualising elements there.

I shall conclude the analysis of Duty and Right with an illustration, which will help to explain how differently East and West act under an identical impulse. An insult is felt as keenly in Japan as in Europe. In Europe it used to be followed, until a few decades ago, by a duel. A challenge was made and accepted and the parties met with their seconds at a selected spot and tried to kill each other. In Japan a very different procedure was adopted. The insulted individual sent a letter to the offender in which the latter was requested to take his own life in expiation of the insult he had offered. If the man refused or did not reply within a specified time, the individual who suffered the insult ended his own life rather than survive a humiliation for which satisfaction was not

given. The contrast is impressive. The satisfaction sought was physical in one, moral in the other. Honour was not reduced to a question of physical power in Japan, and the duel taught the people there what they ought to do rather than what they ought not.

We may now proceed to understand how this difference between East and West arose. I have already described the circumstances of the West which made for the exaltation there of the sense of Right above the sense of Duty. In the East the conditions were different. In the tropical river valleys in which the civilisations of the East were nursed, the needs of man were simpler and nature was lavish in her gifts. Nature reduced the wants while increasing the supplies. There was thus no stimulus to exertion either in the climate or in the soil. The higher temperature created an antipathy to bodily exertion, which became greater when humidity was combined with heat. The indisposition to muscular exertion created a dislocation between Desire and Effort which made for quietude and leisured thought. The mind, more disengaged from muscular activity, turned on itself and held the mirror to its own processes. There was more of introspec-

tion and self-analysis. It sought the idea rather than the fact. It missed the hard discipline of fact but acquired the suppleness and resilience of the idea. It dwelt on the abstract rather than the concrete. It sought truth in synthesis rather than analysis.

The indisposition to exertion rendered necessary the exercise of a greater degree of self-denial. Thus arose the self-control which is the cardinal feature of the East. Another set of causes led to the same result. Where the tendency is to lapse into quietude, the stimulus to action has to be strong and therefore must come from the emotional side, and emotion is controlled. A third cause lay in the excessive heat under the stress of which nerve impulses spend themselves quicker. These have therefore to be controlled first, to be regulated afterwards.

From the abundance of nature's supplies, man was less selfish in the East. A little exertion brought in plenty. Man, therefore, could allow a share from his abundance. Tribal incursions from the north produced, therefore, a different result in India and elsewhere in the East. The populations in the river valleys were too numerous to be exterminated, and, having plenty to share

and with but little required for sustenance, they were more accommodating on their side, and the victors less exacting from the certainty of having enough for their needs. The struggle was, therefore, less fierce, and the parties came to arrangements which were not so wholly one-sided as in the West. The tillers of the soil were seldom reduced to the condition of slaves but retained the proprietorship of it.

There were slaves in the East too. But the pre-occupation of the higher classes in the militaristic functions of the community did not continue long and in the same degree for the perpetuation of slavery. The transition from slavery to serfdom was sooner effected than in the West. Nor were there the deleterious influences of city life, its contrasts, its excitements, and its self-absorptions, to render the relations of master and slave a matter of cold calculation and self-interest. On the other hand, the rural life of much the greater part of the people, its more placid atmosphere, its slower pulsations, its more peaceful occupations, the languors and lavishness of prodigal nature, softened the hearts and drew master and slave together by ties of mutual good feeling.

Even in the Mahomedan East, warlike and predatory as it was, the position of the slave was mitigated by considerable privileges.

The curse of the slave was not therefore on the East, at any rate in the same degree. There was no citizenship from which the classes engaged in production were excluded. The monarchical character of most Eastern Governments tended to equalise the position of the subjects, and the absence of an aristocracy, in whom land, political, judicial and social power was concentrated, prevented those fierce local tyrannies which made liberty a passion with the West.

The struggle of the classes towards citizenship, and of the citizens to enlarge their liberties at the expense of the King, of the King to preserve his power from encroachment, his alliances with one class against the other, and finally his struggle with both, all those movements which have helped the political education of the people and invested citizenship with the dignity of a valued privilege, have never taken place in the East. The West has breathed so long the stifled atmosphere of bondage that it values highly the fresh air of liberty. The East always accustomed to liberty is not able to

appreciate it as highly. Political liberty has been the channel through which all other liberties, of property, of person and of speech, social, religious and economic freedom, have been won in the West. It has rendered possible and it has regulated all the progress from the savage to his civilised descendant. That is why liberty is so much prized in the West. In the East, on the other hand, society was not nurtured on that narrow and variable fraction of human freedom, and would not therefore so easily go to rack and ruin by a denial of mere political liberty. There is not, therefore, the same passionate attachment to it. What matters it to the inmates of a shelter, built in the open air and sunshine, if its doors are narrow and let in but little light and air. But to the inhabitants of the cave, however secure from attack and however beautiful in the subdued light of the interior, the one opening, through which all that they need of food and light and air must come, is vital and as valuable to them as their life itself.

Highly developed as citizenship is in the West, the struggles which brought it to that high level have hardly been appropriate to the development of the humaner virtues.

The virtues that count in the fellowship of common struggle to secure or retain privileges are virtues of courage, discipline, enterprise and resoulution, and family virtues of affection, charity, kindliness and sympathy are more in the background. These latter have been better developed in the East where there have been no exclusions, no oppressions between races and classes in Society, no clash of interests in the same degree to prevent the wide diffusion of these human sentiments. At the same time, the more active virtues required in common attack or defence have not been perfected. The relations between man and man are therefore better adjusted in the East, and it has travelled much further on the road of humanism. So it seems to me that Nature herself is ultimately responsible for the different directions given to East and West. These primary impulses have gathered strength and velocity from every circumstance favourable to each in their long and varied course through time, and find expression in the contrast between East and West seen to-day.

The striking difference engendered so early between East and West has been further emphasised by difference in environment.

The civilisation of the East has always been rural. Scattered in small groups over the face of the country, engaged in the peaceful pursuit of agriculture where man's dealings are more with nature than with man, the virtues more appropriate to them have been developed as the governing principles of their civilization. The abundance of nature making for rapid multiplication, and the resulting numerical strength of the population being more than equal to requirements, the stimulus to the invention of machinery was absent. The same abundance in which all could share prevented strife between classes and the division of society into hostile camps of oppressors and oppressed, the 'haves' and the 'have-nots'. Towns were never so numerous in the East, and such of them as existed partook the character of enlarged villages. On the other hand, in the West, victorious tribes settled in towns for better protection, and drew to them the products of the labour of slaves who were treated worse than cattle, and who, from the greater necessities of colder climates, were not reconciled to that position. The scarcity of labour, when trade developed in Europe, made for the discovery of power in steam and the invention

of machinery, which in its turn made for the formation of more towns. East has, therefore, but to introduce centralised industry on a factory scale to assume the character of the West in its virtues and outlooks, its individualism and its efficiency. Already in the industrial towns that have sprung up in the East, there are reproduced all the essential features of towns in the West, the higher standard of efficiency, the quicker pulsations of life, the same narrow outlooks and passions, the same race after wealth, the slums and the palaces. So are rural countries of Europe as Ireland and Denmark like the East in the quieter, simpler, chaster life of the people, more free from the dominance of self-regarding virtues, more humane and virtuous and tender in their affections.

There can be no doubt, therefore, that the difference between East and West is largely determined by conditions. But one cannot be too careful in avoiding the mistake of thinking that because similar features may be developed in the East as well as the West they can be developed to the same perfection or to the same degree in both. I have tried to trace back these features through the centuries to the time in remote past when

humanity was divided into wandering tribes. It has been seen that Nature is ultimately responsible. Consistent development through that enormous stretch of time assisted by nature, must have so fixed habits, standards, and capacities in each that a cultivated approximation in these is not likely to reach the same identical level. Apart from the accumulated effect of continued development through the centuries, one cannot be quite certain that these differences have not a racial origin. The physical frame has altered visibly under the stress of climatic difference, and it is likely that capacities have undergone a similar alteration.

It is, therefore, far from likely that, even if the appropriate conditions are reproduced, the capacities required for successful imitation of a foreign civilization can be fully developed. Nor should it be forgotten that physical and climatic conditions peculiar to one place cannot be reproduced elsewhere. All that can be done, therefore, is to imitate such details which do no violence to the central principles. Where an identical problem has received a better solution in one, it would be profitable for another to learn by the experience. But the determining criterion in

every case of imitation is whether the central principles are affected.

In contrasting East and West, as I have done, it may occur to many that these principles are complementary. A fusion of the two may therefore appear desirable. The argument is always one-sided for there is no thought of the politically dominant civilisation allowing the reverse process in its own home. Apart from the one-sided nature of the argument, such fusions imply that the qualities of the two civilisations are not mutually exclusive. The very fact that one civilisation excels in one set of virtues and not in another shows, however, that a balanced development of all is an ideal difficult to realise. In the diffusion of a foreign civilisation, furthermore, it is the vices more than the virtues that are imitated, and while the vices of any civilisation are usually limited in their operation by a definite set of virtues peculiar to it, they encounter in the civilisation to which they are introduced a different set of virtues which, however appropriate as a safeguard against the undue spread of the vices peculiar to it, fail too often to prevent the rapid spread of the new infection.

Imitation is the surest and easiest method of destroying identity. It is, therefore, folly on the part of any civilisation to embark on a policy of imitation in the hope of saving itself. It takes it not to the port for which it sets its borrowed sails, but through uncharted waters to split on the first rock it comes across. The wiser course is to perfect the institutions which have served well in the past, to increase the resistance to the inroads of a foreign civilisation, and perfect the means and methods of self-expression.

The policy of imitation has behind it the conviction that the West represents an advanced stage in the evolution of human progress. From a correspondence of the present institutions of the East with those of mediæval Europe it is argued that the East is as far behind as mediæval from modern Europe. There can be no greater mistake. The argument assumes that the stages through which the West has passed must necessarily be the stages which other countries must traverse to attain the same level of excellence. It is further assumed that what is old and left behind is necessarily imperfect or inferior. On that same argument the dark

ages of Europe should be held to be in advance of the period of Roman glory. The truth is the superiority or inferiority of any civilisation is not determined by mere succession in point of time. The correspondence that there is between Eastern civilisation and mediæval civilisation of Europe is due to the rural character of both. So is there a correspondence between the urban civilisation of Greece and Rome, on the one hand, and of modern Europe, on the other. But to compare the rural civilisation of the East with the urban civilisation of modern Europe, to the detriment of the former, is to institute comparisons between virtues and standards urban in the one case and rural in the other, each developed to meet different requirements, and, therefore, not comparable at all.

The talk of superiority or inferiority of any civilisation worth the name is absurd. In every great civilisation there are individual excellences and there are evils, but to say that the merits of one should alone be the merits of another is to impose a common standard of values, wholly incompatible with the diversity of world conditions, incompatible too with the varying limitations of

human capacity which that diversity has imposed on man.

The predatory character of a dominant civilisation may appear to demand a recourse to its methods as the only means of salvation. That would be to create two predatory civilisations where there existed only one. The world would be the worse for a conflict of that character in which both descended to the same level. It is the persistence and vitality of a virtue that makes for its adoption not the aggressive imposition or the slavish imitation of it. The more peacefully inclined civilisation should, therefore, in self-defence, maintain that character to influence the aggressive civilisation dominating it in that direction, instead of acquiring the character of the latter.

The chances of world harmony do not lie in the direction of stereo-typing human endeavour to one common level or standard. Who would dream of making all the gardens of a city take one set pattern? It would destroy the infinite variety in colour schemes and patterns which are a feast to the eye. It would prevent at one stroke the infinite resources of ingenuity being brought to bear on the limitless problems arising from

the character and limitations of space, of soil and surroundings, and the mind would be the poorer for the atrophy of the sense of beauty and variety which that wearisome monotony would cause. The imposition or the acceptance of a common civilisation over the whole world would, except perhaps in the region best adapted to it, set at defiance every principle of nature, and distort every virtue in man.

SCIENCE, EVOLUTION AND PROGRESS

THE achievements of the West in Science are so well known all the world over that it is hardly necessary here to give any idea of their range and magnitude. There is nothing in human endeavour which would compare with it in steadiness of pursuit intensity of application, and the rich harvest of results. Research has been both so extensive and intensive that sciences have multiplied in number. Each of the older sciences has produced a whole family of subsidiary sciences, and each of these latter has several in its turn. While on one side this process is going on, the barriers between several are breaking down. The march along many radii is thus converging to a centre. No tribute to the West is too high for achievements which have no parallel in other parts of the world, and in all that follows there is no intention to detract ever so little from what is the just due of the West. I am more concerned with those aspects of Western science which those who want to follow the West too often forget.

In the longing for progress on the same line and on the same scale which the West has achieved it is too often forgotten that the conditions which made for it do not exist, or cannot be brought suddenly into being. The intensity of effort in the scientific field is but a part of the intensity with which life as a whole is lived, and that life at high pressure, as has been shown in an earlier chapter, is in no small part due to machine production. In the pursuit of science, whether in the East or West, the ultimate aim is the profit of man. The great opportunity for profit through science came with bulk production in which savings from small improvements, however inconsiderable, tend to accumulate. The possibility of a saving of no more than a cent on a car may induce Ford to undertake research, and effect it because on a basis of 1000 cars produced in a day he is likely to save about 3600 dollars a year; but it is not tempting enough to the car-manufacturer whose daily output has not reached two figures. This is true of every industry and even of agriculture. A second factor which has led to the study of science is the deficiency or cost of man power. In the earlier days of the industrial revolution, the

inadequacy of labour was an important factor in the invention of machinery and the use of steam. Once machinery rendered bulk production possible, it was bound rapidly to extend its field in every direction. Several of the problems created by machinery are solved only by the use of more machinery. Rapid transportation by machinery renders necessary the clearance of the goods at the road end by machinery too. Machine ploughing makes machine sowing an advantage if not a necessity. Machinery at one stage of a long process entails machinery at each of the successive stages which the article has to pass for its final transformation. A third inducement to the extension of machinery is the growing power of organised labour which, as shown in an earlier chapter, compels the capitalist to eliminate hand labour from the factory. This aspect of Western industrialism has, it is obvious, stimulated the development of the various sciences as Physics, Chemistry, Electricity, Engineering, Dynamics etc., connected with the construction and improvement of machinery.

The concentration of populations in towns, following the commencement of bulk production by machinery, has in its turn

rendered necessary the study and development of the sciences which have to do with the problems of city life, such as its polluted atmosphere, its congestion, its water supply and drainage, its lighting, its epidemics, problems which are not of such urgency or magnitude in rural tracts. These problems relate to sanitation, hygiene, preventive medicine, and allied sciences. The concentration of industry in towns has created problems of transport and distribution. Raw materials have to be drawn from the ends of the earth and the finished products have to be sent over distances as long. Roads have had to be improved, railways and steamships constructed. These also have set complex problems in their turn for science to solve.

Finally, we should not omit to notice the influence of national jealousies and competition, which set a high premium on discoveries relating to weapons of warfare. Sciences are explored for their improvement in the confidence of substantial rewards from governments. The influence of competition speeding up these processes has already been dealt with in an earlier chapter.

In explaining the causes of the rapid progress Science has made in the West, I am

far from suggesting that the sole motive was utilitarian. An important place has to be assigned to intellectual curiosity, which, on the whole, was certainly greater in the West than in the East. The pursuit of Science in ancient Greece was not dictated by mere considerations of practical utility. The distinguished scientists of middle ages were actuated by motives as pure, though in their case the enthusiasm was partly the rebound from the intellectual repression of the Church.

The astonishing development of science in the West may be, in the main, traced to these urgent demands for solution of the complex problems arising from mass production and massed population. In proportion as these grew in volume and numbers, the opportunities for scientific application have increased. As the applied sciences developed, the pure sciences have had to keep pace with them. The inter-action between the two groups is mutual. A discovery in pure science which leads to its application in industry or elsewhere gives rise to a whole crop of fresh problems, the investigation of which, in their turn, may lead to further developments, in applied sciences. The differentiation of science

as applied and pure, is significant rather of the growth of science as a whole, and is of doubtful validity from the point of view of method and procedure. Nor is the cry often heard in the West that Science is pursued for its own sake much too far, to be considered as indicative of any antagonism between the two. It indicates rather that the major impulse to scientific endeavour is much the same to-day as it was to the Arab alchemist of old, who sought to transmute baser metals into gold, and thus, with no higher object, laid much of the foundation on which the magnificent superstructure raised by the West stands to-day to its own glory and to the edification and progress of mankind.

• The dominance of science in life is reflected in the dominance of it in the curricula of studies in the University and other educational agencies. The relative position of Science and Humanism to-day is practically the reverse of what it was a century or so ago, and the complaint is frequently made that the change is not wholesome in its effect on the students and on the community. The charge is part of the general accusation that science does not make for culture or refinement of feeling.

Those who make the accusation count against science the untold suffering caused by modern weapons of war and engines of destruction. That is, however, a misuse for which man, not science, is responsible. It is forgotten, furthermore, that science has to its credit the prevention of human suffering, not so impressive or spectacular as the havoc which science has rendered possible in war, but none the less on a scale which reduces the sufferings it causes to insignificant proportions. The number of lives saved by preventive medicine would alone far exceed all the lives that have been destroyed in war. And there are many more achievements, some of even greater value, to the credit of science. The numberless comforts which man enjoys now are also due to science. Science has helped to hold the imagination of man in chains—to rid his world of the weird creatures whose fancied presence clouded his intellect and weakened his nerve. It has lighted up many a dark recess which he trembled to enter before and generally it has added very much to his moral stature. A correct balance sheet ought, therefore, to show far more on the credit than on the debit side.

Nor is the picture of humanistic studies as tending to broaden sympathies, usually in mind when science is accused of cold intellectualism free from exaggeration. There is nothing in history to show that in periods of time when these predominated in education, the people exhibited any marked beneficial result of that description. The fact is the humanism of a people is determined not by their study of literature bearing on that side of education as by the opportunities for the exercise of it furnished by their institutions and general organisation. Where the life of the people runs counter to humanism, all the humanistic studies are of little avail. A humanism derived from literature refines rather the intellect than the heart, but is often unable to initiate or add very much to the generous impulses of man. Far from refining the feelings they often help to mask them cleverly, and render them, therefore, the more dangerous.

If science can show against the human sufferings endured very much more of human sufferings prevented, it cannot as easily escape the accusation that the domination by it of modern life has produced certain reactions which are not altogether wholesome. Con-

cerned with the classification of phenomena and the formulation of laws governing them, science has tended, in the past, at any rate to a mechanistic interpretation of life. To reduce human behaviour, as has been done, to a set of reactions called forth by external conditions is to degrade the human mind to the level of the animal mind. Controlling agencies of large bodies of men, whether soldiers, labourers or others, have tended as a result to become impersonal. They have, therefore, lacked the human touch which goes so much towards sweetening work and elevating it from drudgery. Apart from work, the reduction to a few set formulae of the relations between employer and employed hinder their elevation from intellect to regions of feeling.

On Fine Arts too the influence of science has not been quite wholesome. With his position in nature more clearly defined than before, with the successful assaults he has made on the fortifications of nature, the sweep of man's vision has widened and the range of his emotions extended. He has therefore sought new methods of expression. But science has also helped man to understand the various elements that enter into

Fine Arts, and the analysis helps him to select and combine the ingredients to produce the result. But the creative impulse cannot survive this process of judicious piecing together, and, in consequence, modern works of art have more often an intellectual appeal. That might have satisfied an intellectual age, but the old works of great masters are there to bring home the difference.

The limitations of the intellect have yet to be perceived in the West. It is not sufficiently realised that progress conditioned by intellect is like the progress of a man who goes forward by looking backward on the road traversed. Intellect envisages the future by looking at the past. Progress so made has serious limitations. There are occasions when the past is no guide. Obstructions there may be on the road, of which the traveller, has had no previous experience. Intellect is not all. Progress through intellect may leave untouched aspects and features of life in which perhaps Progress is more essential for a harmonious and balanced development. All the progress that there has been in the plant and animal kingdoms has been achieved, except in the single instance of man, without the aid of intellect, and no adaptations

worked by man can compare in beauty, delicacy, and complexity of adjustment, with any of the hundreds that may be met with in plants and animals.

Intellect presents only a limited aspect of truth. It sees reality in a few sections, and science, which relies on intellect so much, relies too exclusively on methods of investigation which can only present aspects of truth still narrower and still more limited. The Baconian method was much too rigid, but the improvements effected in it from time to time have not gone far enough to embrace truth in all its aspects. A great deal of what may be truth is now shut out from science just because it cannot be brought within the four corners of an Evidence Act, on which, imperfect as it is known to be, it relies so much. If truth can be thus kept out from science, so much the worse for science; but science is still far from conscious of its limitation.

The narrowness of scientific outlook does not stop there. If its taboo to truths which do not answer its own tests is strong, its hold on those that are accepted is equally tenacious. The road of science is littered with the fragments of discarded theories, and

those who have seen them all will, nevertheless, not easily release their hold on theories however faulty they are proved to be. It is remarkable how the most important of scientific theories, now fairly well established, have had as opponents the most eminent scientists of the day. It may be that they were so much preoccupied with the extensions of those theories to their remote consequences that accommodation on their part to the new rival in the field was found difficult, but there can be no doubt that it is partly due to a rigidity of the mental processes which the scientific method creates and fosters.

There is, therefore much to be said for the view that science is narrow in its outlook, limited in its methods, and mechanical in its interpretation, and science which dominates modern life so much cannot leave it un-influenced.

The narrowness of scientific outlook and method is, in part, the explanation for a misplaced emphasis on what are the less important in evolutionary processes. Since Darwin advanced his theory of organic evolution and Spencer followed it up with his universal evolution, this idea has dominated

all pursuit of knowledge. But the processes on which attention is bestowed are just those which are measurable with the crude apparatus devised, and therefore, do not include all those more vital urges which may not be measured by externals. A succession of forms, each a step in advance of the one behind, however beautiful, gives no idea of the corresponding changes in the vital forces behind, any more than the gradual rise of the mercury in the thermometer gives an idea of the fever the temperature of which it measures.

The wrong emphasis has given rise to serious misconceptions in regard to man and his progress, which has been measured by the improvements in his environment rather than in himself. The fairly close adjustment between environment and the organism, that there is in the lower animals, is absent in man owing to the interposition of the human mind, and an external progress, unreliable as a test of internal progress even in the case of lower animals, becomes still more so in the case of man. It appears to be forgotten that man, since his appearance, has concerned himself not with his adjustment to the environment, whether active or passive, but

rather with adjusting the environment to him. He tries to modify the environment to the best of his ability and resources, and himself adjusts to the extent modification by him is impossible. Nowhere is this more true than in the West where man has succeeded in altering the environment agreeably to his wishes more than he has elsewhere. The measure of man's mastery of environment has therefore become the measure of his progress. There is little thought taken of man himself independently of those achievements, and of the powers in him which have rendered them possible. That is a wholly one-sided view which takes no account of his position in other directions. In proportion as he gets the environment altered to suit his needs, he loses his capacity for adjustment. That in itself is perhaps not serious as long as the power of controlling the environment is on the increase. But the dislocation becomes greater and greater, multiplying his needs and wants, and deepening his antagonism to nature, with which he should be at peace. There is thus no prospect of a final adjustment, and the increasing preoccupation with the problems of a frequently altered environment tends to loosen his hold on the deeper realities of life, the

perception of which alone furnishes man with reserve power, and which alone helps him to maintain his identity distinct, apart and inviolate. The master, who gets himself accustomed to the services of his slave, so far as to become helpless without him, is the worse slave. The danger is no less in manipulating the environment with no higher object than the creation of comforts and conveniences. The effort to obtain them is wholesome. It makes man active, vigorous and cheerful, but it gives the rein to appetites and desires which are best kept within bounds.

These drawbacks incident to the excessive dominance of science in human life and endeavour are being preceived in the West. Mechanistic interpretation is proving inadequate even in the physical sciences, and much more, therefore, in the sciences dealing with life. The inevitability of cause and effect is a thing of the past—of the older mechanics of a decade ago. Life and consciousness, ignored by the materialistic philosophy of a generation ago, are now given their due share of importance. The searchlight of science is being directed not so much to evolutionary processes as to the forces behind them, and scientific method

is being improved and expanded to explore fields of human knowledge where it has been found inadequate. The study of the subjective side is being forced on science, and reality is no longer wholly objective. Science is thus expanding beyond the narrow boundaries of the natural laws on which it relied so much, and, with the broadening of the field, we may look forward to a change for the better in those narrow outlooks and ideals and methods, which, amidst so much that is good, have to be counted among the undesirable products of science.

FINAL OBSERVATIONS

I HAVE had occasion in the course of my brief and imperfect survey of the West to indicate my views in several places. Nevertheless, it may be considered desirable that I bring them together in a final chapter. I have described, I believe, most of the more important features which are characteristic of the West. The development of individualism and self-regarding virtues, the exaltation of intellect above emotion, of will above understanding, the pursuit of knowledge rather than culture, of Science rather than Humanism, the greater importance attached to fact rather than to idea, the mind rather than the soul, this world rather than the next, these are all among the requirements of competition. While these features are associated with competition and help it forward, it would not be quite correct to look upon them as its products. They are rather the result of the fierce class struggle that has always existed in Western Society between classes widely separated and with

conflicting interests, of which competition is but the latest form. That struggle commenced with the beginnings of history between master and slave, was continued between feudal lord and serf, sustained between land-lord and tenant, and now exists between capital and labour and will be prolonged until the interests which dominate society are not too exclusively under the control of a class or section.

Progress has always been limited to a class or classes, and at the expense and to the prejudice of the rest. Greece and Rome flourished at the expense of the slave, Feudalism at the expense of the serf, land-lord at the expense of the tenant and capital at the expense of labour, the unemployed, the slum dweller and the coloured races. When these serious inequalities are redressed, as they will be under socialism to which the West is rapidly moving and there are no more classes left at home to exploit, the forces will be diverted against the coloured races some of whom are already in varying degrees of servitude and if these succumb finally as many have done already, the West will revert again to the condition of the slave driving democracies of Greece

and Rome, the slaves no longer in the immediate neighbourhood but none the less effectively controlled with the resources of modern Science.

Progress so exclusive can only be material, not moral or spiritual, but it can reach a very high level. A comparison of England, as it is to-day, with what it was a few centuries ago, reveals a transformation almost unbelievable. Dicken's account of a journey to Dover in the *Tale of Two Cities*, is typical of the awful conditions of travel as late as the beginning of the nineteenth century. The journey to Birmingham took four days instead of as many hours. Before carpets were introduced rushes covered the floor and the dropping from the table of fish bones and other remnants produced unwholesome smells, and the rich had to vacate their houses at intervals to "sweeten" them again. No forks were known and the eating of meat was far from an agreeable sight. People crawled under the bedsheet naked. Daily baths were unknown and introduced from India. Public baths had to be prohibited at the time of Henry the Eighth on account of the spread of syphilis. There used to be soliciting women

in the streets. The sons of the rich considered it a past time to turn to robbers in the night. Henry the Fifth was one such. Crime was so rampant that no less than 164 crimes were punishable with death as late as 1832. The horrors of the Inquisition, of the program, of the stake, and the wheel, the excess of the Paris Mob during the Revolution, all these reveal a violence and sweep of passion such as even the savages may reach only in their wildest moments.

One can hardly believe that a few centuries could effect the transformation witnessed to-day. Roads are metalled and asphalted with almost reflecting surfaces, not in the town alone but in the country as well. Motors' capable of a speed of 60 to 150 miles an hour, and aeroplanes careering overhead with a speed of 100 to 200 miles dispensing with roads altogether, telephones, telegraph, wireless and broadcasting annihilating space and time, hotels with most luxurious appointments,— theatres, lecture halls, gardens, dining tables, gorgeous with flowers in elegant vases and silver dishes,—houses, neatly kept, laid with carpets, newspapers almost for the asking, railways underground, above ground and over-head,

electric lights, fans, stairways and lifts, electric-cookers, electric washing machines, electric everything, magazines and books by the tens of thousands, and a thousand other conveniences! No tortures for convictions, no fierce punishments for trivial offences, life made endurable in prisons, work-houses and asylums, vice better screened from public eye. Epidemic diseases under control, Nature's energies harnessed, her secrets being secured one after another, the destiny of man almost in the grasp of man and all in the course of a couple of centuries.

In distressing contrast there is a dark underworld of slums, of impoverished overcrowded humanity, disfigured and demoralised by innumerable hardships and brutalised by shameful neglects, much like the ugly monsters of ocean depths, where no light reaches, fashioned by the enormous pressure of the waters above to ugly and repulsive shapes and subsisting on the dead and decomposing organisms that alone sink to those dark regions. There are others not reduced to the same infamy and wretchedness but subject by low wages and frequent unemployment to many a privation and hardship, and too exhausted in their efforts to keep the wolf

from the door, to rise beyond the level of a dreary and bleak existence.

These inequalities will not endure much longer in the West. There are forces gathering from many directions which are tending towards socialism. The classes who suffer from the present inequitable arrangements of society are developing organisations and resources with which they will soon compel a re-arrangement more satisfactory to all. Interests will then become so universalised as to take away the root cause which has made the cultivation of self interest almost the one occupation of man in the West. Man will then be drawn unto man in mutual sympathy and understanding.

But the inequalities will not have been abolished altogether from the world but only transferred else-where, from the lower orders of society at home finally and fully to the coloured races abroad. The democracy of the West has always rested on a basis of slavery or something very like it. What is impossible at home will be sought abroad. It was with wealth drawn from abroad that the first successful assaults against the barriers of privilege and power at home were made. Socialism may prove a

solvent of social not racial, barriers. It seeks equality with superiors, not inferiors.

The grip on the coloured races is therefore likely to tighten rather than relax, and they cannot trust to the progress of ideas of liberty and equality in the West for release from the menace of servitude and exploitation. The West knows of no liberty which is claimed rather than asserted. Appeals based on principles of humanity and brotherhood are lost on it. Not having relied on these for its own advance, it is not impressed with the reliance of others on them for theirs. They represent to the West but the philosophy of the weak and the West comprehends no philosophy but the philosophy of the strong. The West will not recede except under necessity or compulsion. The coloured races are apt to resort to the methods of the West to throw it back. It would however, be fatal to oppose the nationalism of the West with a cultivated nationalism of the East which has not behind it the strength of historical sequence much less of a social theory or economic doctrine appropriate to it. It would mean entry into an unequal struggle in which the weapons are those in which the West has become

adept by long practice. The capacities behind Western organisations and developments are not the growth of decades or centuries but over two thousand years perfected with appropriate, though far too insufficient, checks and balances. They cannot be cultivated to the same perfection under conditions which are not the same and which cannot be made the same. The reproduction, however faithful, of the external mechanism can never create the internal energies required.

Nor will the model to be copied remain long in the same pose. Change is almost the one permanent feature of the West, incessant change. In its ceaseless march onward, whatever is deadweight is dropped. Whatever makes for velocity is taken in, old ideas are explored and adopted if they give evidence of possibilities. The suitability to present needs counts and everything must pass the test of cold reason, and God himself may come under the scalpel and the microscope in that ceaseless exploration for materials and energy required for advance. The features now observed may be but a passing phase.

The present instability of society cannot long endure. Life has become too full, too exacting, for the physical frame, and unless

it slows down to a more normal pulsation the havoc on brain and nerve, already revealed in the necessity for weak-ends, in the wide prevalence of neurasthenia, in the large number of deaths from suicide and of inmates in Lunatic Asylums, will continue to produce greater evil. International agreements and alliances, trusts, monopolies, interlocking directorates, trade unions, arbitration boards, communistic and socialistic movements are all attempts, whether by nations or classes, to stabilise society and to moderate or to escape from the vast forces that have been raised which threaten to overwhelm the West.

For all the pretence to the contrary, the West has been shocked not a little at the self-revelations of the Great White War, mis-called the world war to diminish the guilt of Europe. There is no aspect of it, the callous wastage of life, the campaign of lies, the scramble over the Peace Table, the violation of every principle by which the allies swore, the slide back in morals and disciplines from levels labouriously reached, which does not call aloud for a radical alteration of the governing principles of Western democracies. The lesson is not perhaps learnt by those

who are at the bottom of all modern Wars, but the classes who were the target for the guns may not be persuaded to go through another ordeal, and they are out to so alter the framework of society as to make wars, at any rate between the Whites, impossible.

The West is proceeding fast beyond itself. It sought freedom of worship to find it only a freedom from worship. It respects the sex of women so far that it has nearly unsexed her. It is engaged so much in the pursuit of enjoyment, that it has no time for enjoyment. Instead of man driving the machine, the machine drives the man. It declares it is struggling for existence when it is struggling for dominance. It believes in adaptation to environment but is all the while engaged in adjusting the environment to it. It is perfecting the methods of Science but neglects the science of methods. It believes in the survival of the fittest, yet allows the unfit to multiply and out-number. A habitual trespasser itself it tolerates no trespass against it. In its self-government, there is little government of the self. It has ceased, to be a slave of others, to become, what is far worse, a slave to itself.

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are being gradually perceived. Change, the West must, and change it will, and that change is likely to be towards a higher organisation in which national boundaries and national selfishness are less emphasised, in other words, towards the humanism which the East has exalted above everything else in this world. It may after all be that the road along humanism is the correct road in a world, where as a result of the vast increase in population and the shrinkage of distance, man's concern is becoming more with man than with nature, and if that is so, the East stands to lose precious assets in embarking on a policy of imitation of the West. It was a religion founded in the East that reclaimed the West from barbarism, and it may yet be that she may be able to give her the broader outlook, the larger perspective that lift man beyond the sensuous and impermanent to more enduring things in life.

The debt will not be all on the side of the West. East has much to learn from the West, more perhaps than she has to teach. The transformations that I have described have involved the expenditure of energies both mental and physical, such as the East has never been able to bring together within

the same period of time. The East accustomed to arrangements of society far more permanent, is apt to look with contempt on these incessant reshufflings and regroupings, the ceaseless shifts and adaptations that have kept the West so much absorbed in the concerns of the world. What is significant in these changes is, however, not so much the fact of change but the ceaseless, tireless activity in it. The danger of pollution is to the still standing water of the pool, not to the stream coursing along which may pass through filthy beds and yet remain pure. There is purification in the very movement. So does the quick pace of the West prevent, limit or modify the operation of grave social evils none of which is likely to be allowed to develop so far as to interfere with the velocity with which it moves. Each principle carried to excess is fast developing its own corrective. If the dominance of machinery tends to make man too mechanical, there is more leisure demanded and taken to release nerve and muscle from the tensions of high speed. If there is too much of concentration in effort there is developed humour to restore detachment and perspective. If personality is fragmented, there is nationalism to restore

its unity, and self government to invigorate it. If there has been too much emphasis on accumulation of wealth it is now shifting to its equitable distribution. If Faith is dying, Science is rapidly assuming its functions. These checks and balances are far too insufficient but society in the West started on its present line of progress but a couple of centuries ago. What is vital is that behind all the transformation, behind the effort and the enthusiasm there is something steady, persistent, modifying, adapting, itself unchanged, undiminished, unmodified except by itself, the one thing that remains unchanged amidst many things that change and are changed by it, which knows neither defeat nor failure, the creative energy, the glory of the West, its *Disciplined Will*.

For all its close identification with self, its subordination to the furtherance of self-interest, in the higher manifestations of will there is an elevating detachment, as high as any that has been achieved in the East by self-control. The mastery of the self of the Hindu Saint at Alexander's Court, voluntarily, in spite of persuasion from the great conqueror, meeting his Death in flames with a smile, the final consummation of long

practiced detachment from the world is perhaps sublime. The mastery of the Will displayed by Danton, the French Revolutionary on the scaffold as he firmly advanced to his end, suppressing the memory of his young wife surging in his mind, with the self-administered rebuke "Look here Danton, no weakness" is certainly more heroic if not so sublime. Long before his head rolled into the basket, even as he planned and plotted during the Revolution, he had been out of the World. Who is to say which is better the *self control of the Indian Saint* or the *mastery of the will* of Danton. The world has need of both.

